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OCTOBER 19, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY AND THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

Barry Goldwater
John Tower
Arthur W. Radford
Russell Kirk
The Editors of National Review

THE JOB CORPS: 'IT'S WHAT'S HAPPENING, BABY'

Don E. Cope

GIVE JAPAN THE ATOM BOMB

An Editorial

Also In This Issue

RUSSELL KIRK ON BALAAM'S ASS IN THE SEMINARY ♦ BUCKLEY ON CHASING SENATOR McCARTHY'S GHOST ♦ KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN ON THE GERMAN ELECTIONS ♦ TOLEDANO ON THELONIOUS MONK

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CONTENTS *OCTOBER 19, 1965 VOL. XVII, NO. 42*

THE WEEK 904

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

To the Editor 898
Chasing McCarthy's Ghost ....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 912
The German Elections ....*E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn* 913
Special Feature Section: The John Birch Society and the Conservative Movement
1. The Background *The Editors of National Review* 914
2. Three Columns .....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 916
3. The Birch Malady .....*Frank S. Meyer* 919
4. Get US Out! .....*James Burnham* 925
5. Questions & Answers 927
6. Commentary 928
Court Upholds Recent Civil Rights Law *Carl A. Horne* 929
It's What's Happening, Baby ..... .*Don E. Cope* 930
Catholics and Population: A Defense ..*Garry Wills* 933
Balaam's Ass in the Seminary ..... .*Russell Kirk* 934
Trans-O-Gram 947
For the Record 948

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

The Virtues of the Market .....*Anthony Lejeune* 935
The Cretan Glance .....*Guy Davenport* 937
Chunks of Existence ..... *Vincent Miller* 938
Thelonious Monk and Some Others *Ralph de Toledano* 940
Books in Brief 942

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In This Issue . . .

➔The editors discuss the John Birch Society and its bearing on the conservative movement. There is brief commentary also by Senators **Barry Goldwater** and **John Tower,** by Admiral **Arthur Radford,** by Mr. **Joseph Shell** of California, and by Mr. **Russell Kirk** . . . **Don E. Cope** spent a month as an instructor at a Job Corps training center and gives us, from his experience there, an idea of the difficulties of the whole thing, and of the ugly consequences of a sentimentalized permissiveness.

➔**Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** got hold of the original copy of a book about to be published by Charles Potter, who was a member of the special Senate committee impaneled to investigate the Army-McCarthy feud. The published copy of Mr. Potter's book omits a passage in the original, and thereby hangs a tale. The whole affair reminds us that McCarthyism seems to have risen again as a subject of conversation, not to mention ranting . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn,** who is in New York to begin his annual lecture tour, brought with him an article analyzing the German elections. It is perversely refreshing to learn that even in Germany, solid efficient honest industrious Germany, political opinion polls can stub their toes . . . **Garry Wills** terminates the discussion with Brent Bozell, of special interest to Catholics, on the question of, How free is the Vatican to modify the existing Catholic position on birth control? . . . And **Russell Kirk** writes about a glorious controversy in California that resulted when a Protestant seminary discovered an orthodox Protestant on its staff . . . Mr. **Carl A. Horne** covers some of the territory between here and *1984.* Specifically, in this installment he analyzes certain court decisions handed down in the autumn of 1983.

➔**Anthony Lejeune** writes thoughtfully about a book giving the views of Enoch Powell, probably the most exciting conservative in English life. Mr. Powell is finally back in the shadow government and would take an important position if the Conservatives return to power, a prospect that looks less and less unlikely with the passage of time and the evaporation of Labor's majority . . . **Guy Davenport** reviews, excitedly, the two last books of Nikos Kazantzakis, and *The Sun of Death,* by Pandelis Prevelakis, the acknowledged successor of the master . . . **Vincent Miller,** professor of English at Wofford College, writes about the successor-movement to the New Criticism, of which *The Modern Tradition,* edited by Richard Ellman and Charles Feidelson, is the Koran . . . And **Ralph de Toledano** tells us everything about Thelonious Monk, in a prose style as colorful, as varied, as intriguing as Monk's own piano style. In the end, Mr. Toledano's appreciation of Monk is grudging: but he is willing to forgive him his cultism, because Monk is "serious about his music."

➔Next issue will feature a special eight-page supplement wrapping up the New York mayoralty campaign, and reports on the important off-year contests in New Jersey and Virginia. ➔

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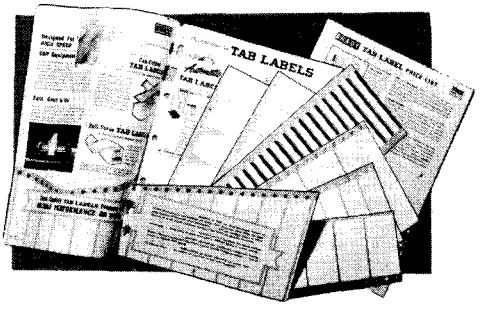

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TO THE EDITOR

Please, Dear NR

Will you please, dear friends, just once, in print, in our beloved *NR,* than which there is no finer magazine extant, admit, for the record, that it is possible, however offensive to your tender sensitivities, for a loyal reader to be both an atheist and a conservative, thus allowing this provider of nine bucks a year to continue to supply same and, although the effort will be Herculean, to bear your pavlovian recitals of Roman dogma with, if not joy unbounded, at least equanimity.

New York, N.Y. H. E. SCHATZ JR.

Revisionism?

The business of construing the past, as Garry Wills and Harry Jaffa have done in your issue of September 21, is everybody's business—especially in this era of constitutional transition. However, I think a little restraint is needed in this department if the people who call themselves conservative are to find a common ground. Both Jaffa and Wills have entered a dangerous arena—slavery is a many-splendored thing. Who, indeed, is a slave; and who is a slavemaster, and what is slavery?

The "peculiar" institution of the South was uniquely oriented toward persons of African ancestry; the contractual relation of "indenture" was reserved for those of the West. The systems were not substantially different, unless one sees only black and white abstractions, as Wills does. Personal relations in that era were governed by religious principle, and coercion was more freely used because the discipline needed was not present among the blacks to the same degree as it was among the English, or the Boston Irish, who came along later. In Boston, Jackson freed the Irish by organizing them—and the Bostonians freed the slaves by retaliation. In the meantime, Hamilton's world was dissolved—with the Federal Union, when Jackson organized the bloc-voting constituencies of the Northeast and the Southern ruling classes into one party.

For myself, I had rather be a slave to a good master than a slave to the state. When Jackson destroyed the U.S. Bank, which Calhoun had created in 1815 for the express purpose of transforming property in persons to property in monetary terms, the Civil War was a certainty. When Lincoln attempted the wholesale theft of the monetary power of the New York bankers by Salmon Chase's National Banking Act, he laid the basis of Republican power for generations to come. Jackson had done the same thing

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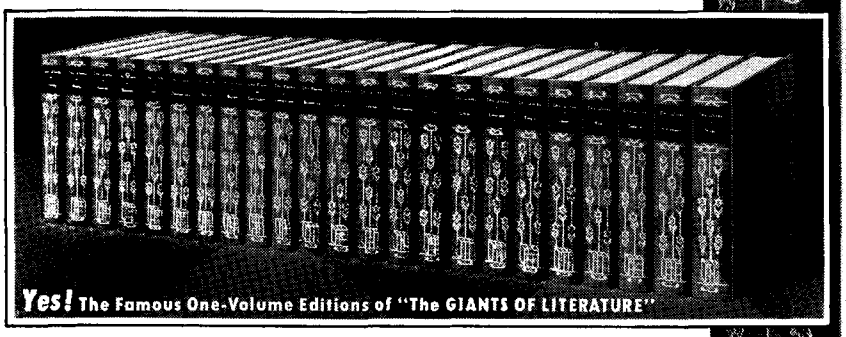

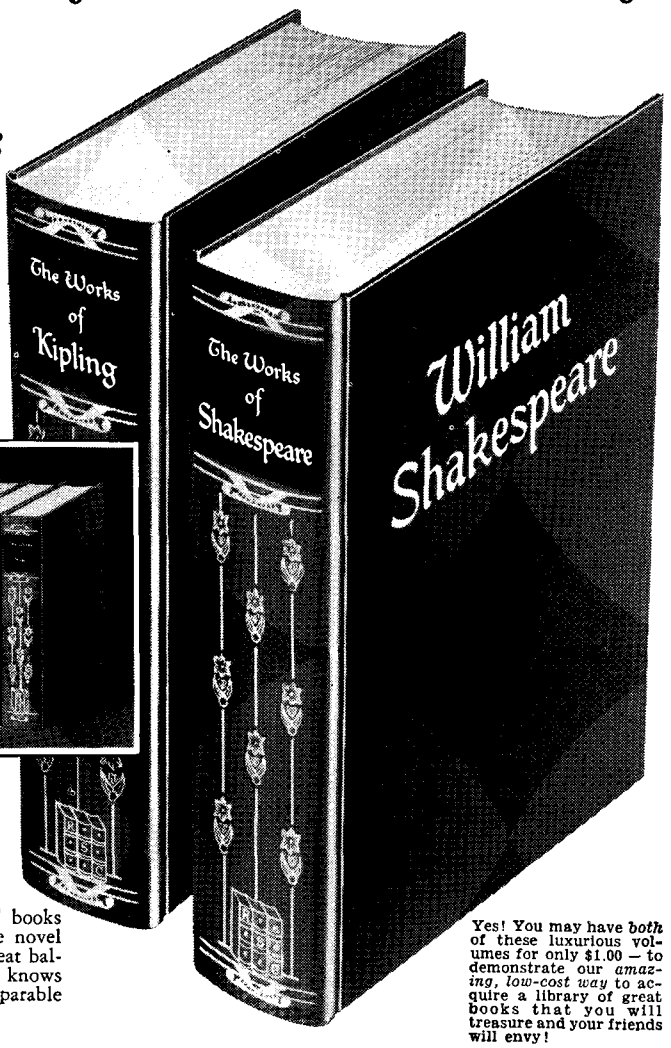

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in his arrangements with the bankers and Van Buren, their stooge. In killing Mr. Biddle, Jackson perpetuated slavery, and extinguished Senator Calhoun, one of the greatest men in our history, and worthy to rank with Edwards, Franklin, and Hamilton.

Washington, D.C. PYRRHO

Although Harry V. Jaffa's "Lincoln and the Cause of Freedom" appearing in the September 21 issue was in general quite convincing, he weakened his argument by citing Andrew Jackson as a champion of the indivisible Union. While the results of Jackson's actions in the South Carolina nullification crisis did in fact preserve the union for another thirty years, the motives behind Jackson's actions were somewhat less noble.

President Jackson was the first American President who believed more firmly in the "rule of men" than the "rule of law." In short, he believed in "government by the guts"; what he or the majority of the people believed to be right was ipso facto the correct policy. Jackson's reaction to South Carolina's defiance was a "gut" reaction because 1) there was a direct challenge of *his* authority; and 2) anything that John Calhoun was for he was, on general principles, against.

This viewpoint and Jackson's general unconcern with legal niceties can be easily borne out by examining his reaction when the State of Georgia ignored federal law in its relations with the Indians. In his biography of Jackson, Marquis James comments: "To this fast and loose policy of nullification of federal instruments Andrew Jackson, in the

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successive roles of border lawyer, land-speculator, frontier soldier and member of Congress had frequently been a party." And as President of the United States, Jackson greeted the Supreme Court's decision overruling the actions of Georgia with his famous comment: "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."

Jackson could be better classified as a great politician than a preserver of the Union. To put amorally motivated political actions into lofty, superfluous terms is the Art of Politics. Apparently Mr. Jaffa is still snowed, 133 years hence.

Killeen, Tex. RICHARD J. BRYAN

Professor Jaffa's criticism of Frank S. Meyer on Lincoln is simply a rehash of the ancient doctrine of the divine right of kings with local coloring. It is directly opposed to the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence and to what Madison, in his Virginia Resolution, called the "plain intent of the Constitution." In those Resolutions Madison said: "It is the duty of the states to correct this evil [usurpation of power by the Federal Government]."

The doctrine of implied powers of the Federal Government, discovered by Chief Justice Marshall, is not supported by the Federalist Papers as Jaffa claims, because they were written by politicians for the express purpose of convincing the people that the Constitution offered for ratification did not make the Federal Government the "final power." Madison, in Federalist 45 and Hamilton, in Federalist 32, make this point quite clear.

Jackson, claimed by Jaffa as a supporter of "Marshall's jurisprudence," vetoed the National Bank bill when it came up for renewal, because it was "unconstitutional." Thus, Jaffa's "foundation of Marshall's jurisprudence" was destroyed by a President who also held that each branch of the Federal Government was entitled to its own opinion on the constitutionality of laws.

Lincoln's opinion, approved by Jaffa, that government must be controlled by what it considers "a moral purpose" was not shared by the framers of the Constitution; rather, they shared Jefferson's opinion that "it should be bound by the chains of the Constitution." So did the people when they added the Tenth Amendment and later the Eleventh. Legality was demanded of government, morality remained in the exclusive domain of the individual.

The times are ripe for such books as *Freedom Under Lincoln* and for courageous reviewers such as Frank S. Meyer.

Los Angeles, Calif. WILLIAM F. MAHER

Erratum, But Not Ours

In my letter regarding Jaffa's "Lincoln And The Cause Of Freedom" [September 21], about 100 words from the end, I find I made a typo error: ". . . 1,000 to 1." It should have read "10 to 1." I beg your indulgence.

Mandrville, L.I. WILLIAM J. MCLAUGHLIN

Mr. Hazlitt Replies to 'Veritas'

Were both Alfred Marshall and Joseph Schumpeter "socialists"? Unfortunately the question is not merely factual but definitional. I can only say that if either Marshall or Schumpeter is classed as a socialist, judged by the whole body of his work, then from three-quarters to nine-tenths of all the academic economists who have written since 1890 must be set down as socialists. The term loses any useful descriptive meaning.

Marshall wrote of the socialists (*Principles of Economics*, eighth edition, p. 763): "Their views were based on little historic and scientific study; and were expressed with an extravagance that moved the contempt of the business-like economists of the age. The socialists did not study the doctrines which they attacked; and there was no difficulty in showing that they had not understood the nature and efficiency of the existing economic organization of society."

Schumpeter, in his *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, maintained what he himself called the "paradoxical conclusion" that "capitalism is being killed by its achievements." But he listed among those achievements not only an unparalleled rate of growth in production, resulting in "an avalanche of consumers' goods" (p. 68), but the growth of rationality, "the mental attitude of modern science" (p. 124), and "the modern hospital." "The victories, not yet completely won but in the offing, over cancer, syphilis and tuberculosis will be as much capitalist achievements as motorcars or pipe lines or Bessemer steel have been" (p. 126).

True, Marshall liked to qualify every statement and Schumpeter was inordinately fond of paradox and of shocking the reader. An outright supporter of capitalism and economic freedom will find a great deal to question in either writer. But it does not promote fairness or clarity of discussion to dismiss both as "socialists." ➔

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Incidentally, as the American edition of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* appeared in 1942, how is it that the "original" German edition did not appear until 1946?

Wilton, Conn. HENRY HAZLITT

. . . and Stir Like Hell

Being moved to the heart by the article of A. T. Renson ("Vacation Notes," September 21) who sighs for some sort of "poor man's" foie gras de poulet to take the place of the much overrated and expensive French foie gras, I mercifully offer my own version, which inspires delight in guests. (It beats the French foie gras to pieces.)

Take a pound of fresh chicken livers, put them in a deep small pan and just cover them with seasoned chicken broth. Very gently simmer for about five minutes, or until the bloodiness disappears and the insides of the livers are pale pink. Drain very thoroughly, after the livers have cooled in the broth. But DRAIN. In the meantime, in an iron skillet, place several pieces of chicken fat, all you can obtain, at least half a cupful. Dry out slowly. Then add 1/3 cup of finely chopped onion to the fat, with one big finely chopped clove of garlic, and fry very gently until the onion is golden brown but not burned—and is very tender. (While waiting for this conclusion, finely chop the chitlings, or the remains of the skin of the chicken fat.)

Remove the skillet from fire, add the chopped chitlings, one rounded tablespoon of *fresh leaf lard;* let it melt sweetly. When this is done add a tablespoon of anchovy paste or three anchovies, well-mashed. Also add a third of a teaspoon of powdered thyme, and several dashes of WHITE pepper. Stir vigorously, in the skillet, until well-mixed. (It is the fat, particularly the lard, which preserves the pâté.)

Now thoroughly mash the chicken livers, removing all threads which turn up, which are usually few. Mix the hard-boiled yolks of three eggs with the livers, the yolks also mashed. Add the content of the iron skillet to the livers. Stir all hell out of the combine. Taste to see if the anchovies have salted it enough. If not, add just a few dashes of seasoned salt, but just a few.

Place the result in one of those small crocks which were once full of soft Cheddar cheese—washed, of course. Punch a hole ½ inch in diameter clear down to the bottom of the crock. (If pressed firmly into the crock the livers should fill it.) Into the hole pour to the very top the best sherry—the table kind. Cover lightly with a piece of waxed paper—never a tight cover. Let stand in the coldest part of the refrigerator for twenty-four hours. Then pour out what sherry has not been absorbed. Stir again until the hole has disappeared. Cover again with the waxed paper, and fasten with a rubber band only.

If kept cold, and covered, this pâté will last a long time—if you can induce your guests not to eat it up at one sitting. Serve on tiny toasted rounds of French bread.

If the pâté is placed, after the sherry is poured out the second day, in a small glass dish not more than two inches deep, the pâté can be sliced like the French foie gras. (The glass dish must be lightly oiled before receiving the liver. Then it can be turned out intact. Slice with a lightly-oiled knife. But the crock is best.)

Cheers! Ice-cold martinis are excellent with this, but go easy on the vermouth.

Buffalo, N.Y. TAYLOR CALDWELL

Good Job

I enjoyed the two articles on Germany (September 21). Both Mr. Schlamm and Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn seem to have a thorough knowledge of European politics.

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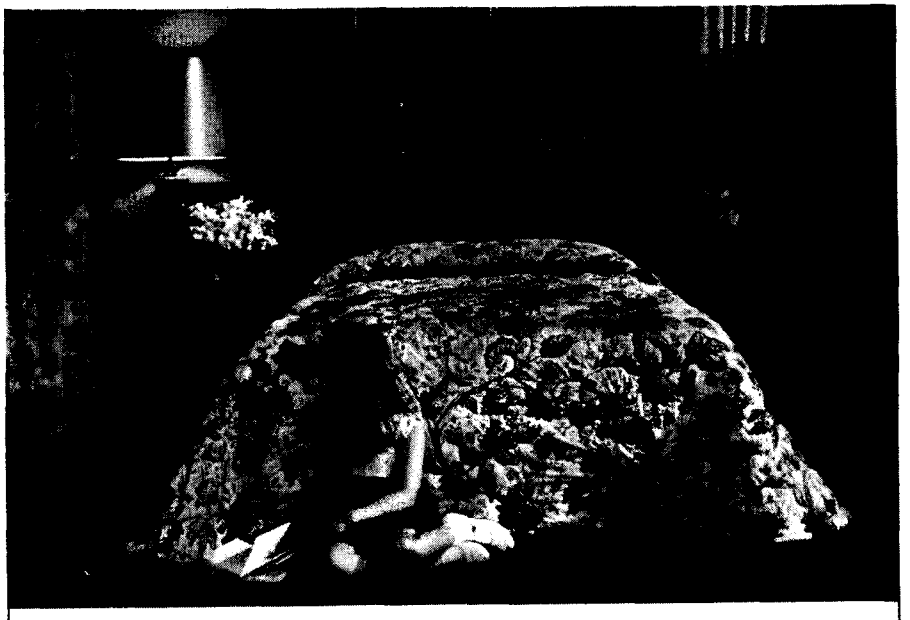

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- ★ *A pre-publication, 50 page condensation of Jeffrey Hart's book on American Conservatism from 1955-1965, scheduled by Doubleday for January, 1966.*
- ★ *James Burnham's round-up of the present position of the Anti-Communist world.*
- ★ *Frank Meyer's crystallization of Principles and Heresies.*
- ★ *Will Herberg on Religion and The Conservative Ideal.*
- ★ *Hugh Kenner's Literary Art and The Right.*
- ★ *Anthony Lejeune on The Prospects for Conservatism in England.*
- ★ *Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn on The Equilibrium in Europe.*
- ★ *Russell Kirk's Reflections of an Active Conservative.*
- ★ *Editor William F. Buckley, Jr.'s speech at the 10th Anniversary banquet for National Review.*
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The WEEK

● We go to press as the report that the President will be operated on appears under the banner headline of every newspaper. We wish him well, and pray that his return to full health and vigor will be speedy. We reflect, too, on how the global repercussions instantly set in motion by this news of what is, after all, rather routine surgery for a man in his fifties, indicate the distance our once sternly Republican regime has traveled along the road to Caesarism.

● The dust on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, far from having settled since last year's storm, is seething and whirling into what may become a real tornado before the school year is out. The revolutionaries in faculty and student body are boldly advancing in what can only be interpreted as a serious attempt to take control of the institution; and no one is standing firm against them. "Lyndon Johnson: Wanted for Murder in Vietnam!" shriek the posters on Sproul Plaza as petitions are circulating pledging signers to refuse to be drafted. "We were able to withstand one year of this," Messrs. Evans and Novak quote a wearied professor as saying. "No university can go through another year of this agitation and survive."

● Homer Nods Dept.: In one of his recent oracular pronouncements, Pundit-in-Chief Walter Lippmann, motivating a lovier-dovier relation between U. S. and S.U., noted: "In the Soviet Union there exists a prejudice in favor of rebellion as such, of rebellion against any established order." Like in Western Ukraine, and East Germany and Budapest, eh, Walter?

● Thomas E. Dewey, former Republican governor of New York, Harry Truman's opponent in 1948, was there. Governor Nelson Rockefeller was there. Senator Jacob Javits and former Senator Kenneth Keating were there. Timothy Costello, Liberal, and Milton Mollen, Democrat—both of them on John V. Lindsay's Republican-Liberal fusion ticket—were there. The occasion was a Republican breakfast at New York's Belmont Plaza to beat the drums (and the pocketbooks) for Lindsay's mayoral campaign. In fact, most everybody who's anybody in official New York Republican circles (never mind how they intend to vote come Nov. 2) was there—except Mr. Lindsay, who had a pressing appointment elsewhere. Probably scared all that Republicanism assembled might be contagious.

● *Candidate Lindsay's stepped-up drive for support from reform Democratic groups puts many of them on a difficult spot: whether to support their party or their principles.* We couldn't have said it better ourselves. But what was this sentence doing in an editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune*, John Lindsay's principal mouthpiece?

● President Johnson, it is reported, was surprised and annoyed when Arthur Miller declined to go to the White House to participate in the ceremonies inaugurating the new art-subsidy bill, on the grounds that to do so would be implicitly to condone our brutal policies in Vietnam. It serves LBJ right. Mrs. Lyndon Johnson should have warned him, having seen the première of Miller's *After the Fall*, that Miller would only sanction barbarism toward the Vietcong after the Vietcong are dead.

● Representative Armistead Selden (D., Ala.), having listened to Sen. Fulbright castigate the United States for its boorish attempt to save Santo Domingo from Communism, turned to the report issued by Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee ("Background Information to the Dominican Republic") and found that it was based, almost exclusively, on newspaper reports from the *N.Y. Times'* Tad Szulc, the *Herald Tribune's* Bernard Collier, the *Washington Post's* Dan Kurzman. Reporters such as Marguerite Higgins, Eric Sevareid, Hal Hendrix, Jules Dubois, Jerry O'Leary, whose accounts of the events were very different, were not mentioned in the Committee report. Nor was testimony by former Ambassador John Bartlow Martin. Intrigued, Congressman Selden set about checking out the facts in the Fulbright document, and what do you know, he found all sorts of falsifications in the *Post, Trib* and *Times* stories—such as running photographs taken of Marines during the active fighting with stories several weeks later when a cease-fire was in effect to show that the U.S. was not really being neutral. Congressman Selden's dissection of the Fulbright report is well worth reading (*Congressional Record,* Sept. 23, p. 24073).

● Pitney-Bowes is at it again. Mr. Maurice Franks, a political science student at Memphis State University, has his postage meter from P-B and would like to embellish his mailings with the slogan "Support Your Local Police." P-B, speaking through the lips of Mr. James Turrentine, Public Relations Director, won't permit it. Not that the sentiment is controversial, says Mr. Turrentine; simply that it's widely known to be the brain child of the terribly controversial J—— B—— Society. "Support the Forces of Law and Order" would be okay, he suggested, but not that other . . . thing. Guess Mr. Franks will have to be content with "Impeach Jim Turrentine." No controversy there, and everyone knows it was first suggested by no one in particular.

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● Anti-Communists, meet Congressman C. E. Gallagher, Democrat of New Jersey, who on September 30 turned his anger on the likes of Drew University's Prof. Mellen and Rutgers' Prof. Genovese, who have made themselves notorious by supporting a Vietcong victory: "When I was in Vietnam I saw what a Vietcong victory meant in some villages. It meant the mayor's head on a fence post. It meant hands chopped off. It meant young men dragged off for training against their will. It meant the stealing of all village food and medical supplies in the name of liberation. . . . Mr. Mellen, in proclaiming himself a Marxist, would indicate that while he is an instructor in history, he has not learned well the lessons of history. . . . Since Mr. Mellen has such strong convictions about welcoming a Vietcong victory, perhaps he should be given the opportunity to fight with the Vietcong and thus translate his words into a more meaningful note." Gallagher is forty-four, has been in Congress since 1958. Could be we have another Tom Dodd coming along?

● Rep. Paul Rogers (D., Fla.), speaking to the International Narcotics Enforcement Officers Association a fortnight ago, said that "cocaine has replaced sugar as Cuba's chief export to the United States," and that Cuba serves as a way station for Red Chinese narcotics bound for the States through Florida or Mexico. Let's hope those people Castro is proposing to send over aren't his sales force.

● American *avant-garde* theater ensembles touring Europe are going in heavily for nudie displays—with a difference. The exiled Living Theater shows a male nude whenever the gendarmes look the other way, and something billing itself the San Francisco Dance Workshop puts nine men and women nightly through "a ritual of trust and confidence and acceptance," *i.e.*, a striptease during which audiences are urged to discard "preconceived ideas of right and wrong" along with the actors' tumbling leotards. In Warsaw, officials ordered the nudes back under cover, prompting from Leading Lady Ann Halprin the protest that Scandinavia had found the act about as erotic as a sauna: "It says," explained she, "this is what we are." Which may be part of the trouble: to seasoned buffs behind the Curtain the Californians must have seemed strictly Folies Bourgeoises.

● The principal American organizations concerned with African affairs have been, for some years, Waldemar Nielsen's American-African Institute and George Houser's American Committee on Africa—both dedicated to the Liberal shibboleths that have already made a despotic, impoverished shambles of large segments of post-colonial Africa. Happily, there has recently been formed the American-African Affairs Association, whose Co-Chairmen are Dr. Max Yergan, the distinguished Negro authority on Africa, and William A. Rusher, the publisher of this journal. The prospectus of the organization, after explaining its positive aims of aiding the understanding of Africa and promoting mutually helpful relations with its peoples, lays it on the line: "When certain of the new African nations imperil, by their conduct, the cause of human freedom anywhere, we shall say so. When the United Nations, succumbing to the belated demagogy of certain of its members, advocates courses (both political and economic) which can only end by endangering the peace and welfare of Africa and the world, we shall say so." Contributions to help launch the work of this new and promising group (which has applied for tax-exemption) may be mailed to it at Suite 905, 79 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

The Pope and the UN

Pope Paul's visit to New York was an inspirational blitzkrieg whose effect might just possibly endure in the jaded senses of some of those who saw and heard him. His was the power of the spirit and the spirit moves more men than the stomach does. He came to exalt the spirit, and it is the universal judgment that he succeeded in doing so.

He spoke in a kind of glossolalia—the gift the Holy Ghost conferred on the apostles of Christ, by which they found themselves with the power to communicate their spiritual ecstasy to people of every tongue. What was left was above all an impression—the impression of the relative desirability of peace over swaggering bellicosity. When he spoke English, it was in an English so heavily accented that the words were difficult to discern; yet even so there was intelligent communication. When he spoke at the United Nations, he spoke in French; and the instantaneous-translator was caught up in the sweep of the occasion, so much so that only the benevolent resonances seemed to filter through the television sets.

But in fact, he did utter words. Words which will be carefully studied by the analysts. Words which the polemical opportunists will seize upon for their own ends. Words which will be used—indeed have already been used—as highly unpeaceful rods with which to drive exuberant and high-spirited men into the ghettos of factional conformity.

Accordingly, it is prudent to stress several things to those who will be mining the Pope's moving speech for ammunition—particularly, for ammunition to fire at Catholics whose opinions appear to contradict some of the Pope's concerning some of the getting and spending aspects of peacemaking. One of these, which

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seems obvious but is rarely stressed, is that the Pope is a diplomat not only in the altogether formal sense that he is the head of a temporal state; but also in the sense that his own precepts—humility, love, charity—enjoin upon him a kind of super diplomatic unction which is altogether right and necessary in its place, but must on no account be confused with analysis. It would be quite correct and quite expected for a Pope to address, let us say, Christophe Gbenye, if he became President of the new state of the Upper Congo, as "Your Excellency"—and also there are undoubtedly those who would proceed to the inference that there is therefore something excellent about the man-eating Gbenye. Thus the Pope addressing the diplomats of the United Nations, a substantial number of whom are engaged in plotting among other things the destruction of the memory of Christ on earth, says to them, "To each and every one of you, honor and greeting." There actually are people in the world who will suppose that the Pope has thus officially classified as honorable the agents of the anti-Christian powers.

Then there is the mistaken impression that the Pope's implied political and historical judgments are binding on Catholics, whereas of course they are not, inasmuch as they are not moral or dogmatic exhortations. For instance, the Pope can direct you, as a Catholic, to love Khrushchev—in an abstract sort of way—because he is a fellow human being. But he cannot make you love the United Nations, or the World's Fair. The Pope is as fallible as Walter Cronkite respecting political matters, for the reason that the great patrimony of infallibility, on account of which he is held by Catholics in such special awe, is limited to the field of his teaching authority, which is in the spiritual world. Anything a Pope says about anything at all is listened to with respectful attention because the words of the mighty are listened to with special attention; and especially because the popes strive to splice into historical and diplomatic observations fine traces of moral and spiritual truths. Sometimes the mode of reasoning is distinctly moral; and the network of value judgments that go into the formulation of social policy are sometimes based on active and exciting moral reasoning.

But sometimes, too, the reasoning is altogether empirical, at which point we need to be reminded that even as St. Thomas warned the ecclesiastical courts that they were capable of erring *"propter falsos testes"*—on account of incorrect evidence—so are the popes, as temporal history abundantly shows. And those who most greatly cherish the necessity to guard the integrity of the area of papal infallibility will most diligently stress that there is an area of papal fallibility: lest on finding through the experience of history that a Pope did in fact err on a practical question in the realm of the latter, disillusion and skepticism should set in as regards his authority in the realm of the former.

"Let unanimous trust in this Institution grow," Pope Paul said at the United Nations, "let its authority increase; and this aim ['the security of international life, without having recourse to arms'], We believe, will be secured." Here is a conclusion which we, small w, do not believe. Unless by "unanimous" is meant literally unanimous trust in the ideals of the United Nations by every ruler on earth. In which case the United Nations could dissolve, inasmuch as there would be no need for it.

And finally, let us be reminded that the demands of charity and humility ordain a special rhetoric that is at once egalitarian, and idealistic. "Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for twenty years have labored for peace," he says to a roomful of people including Andrei Gromyko. He speaks of "the reciprocal trust that here unites you," to a group of men who have no reciprocal trust in one another, and are most thoroughly disunited.

On returning to the Vatican, the Pope wisely said: "It is not the duty nor the intention of the Church to enter the political and economic fields of the temporal world." Amen.

Sukarno's Harvest

We do not pretend to know exactly what is going on in Indonesia, and we doubt that anyone does, including the Indonesians. Three thousand islands, all of them with poor transport and communications, are hard to keep simultaneous track of. But the general outline seems fairly plain: the struggle for succession has begun while Caesar still survives—or apparently still did as we went to press. Sukarno won out as leader of his country's revolution, and as so often in such cases, has been able to hold more or less together, under his prestigious "father of his country" mantle, the conflicting interests and forces that the revolution expressed and released. Lately the conflicts have been sharpening at the same time that the leader's own health and grip have weakened. At the beginning of the month the pressures built into an irregular explosion.

D. N. Aidit's huge Communist Party, with a Moscow-Peking subdivision in its ranks; the strongly orthodox Islamic tendency; the straight "Indonesian socialism" nationalists (somewhat analagous, perhaps, to the Boumédienne tendency that overthrew Ben Bella in Algeria): these three would seem to be the main contenders, with most of the army supporting the nationalists and part at least of the air force (as frequently in modern revolutions) lining up to the Left, in this case with the Communists. Naturally, the intelligence agents of all the great and many of the minor powers are dabbling busily. Quite possibly

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ The mood in Congress has changed sharply and swiftly from vacuous complacency to semi-overt hostility. The causes for this shift are varied, but the loser is President Johnson and his Administration. How long congressional resentment will persist—and how much it can salvage of this session's multi-billion dollar extravaganza—no one is ready to predict. Certainly, the behavior of the President and his minions will condition the future course of legislation. Both House and Senate have let it be known to eavesdropping ears that they have had it as far as the every-hour-on-the-hour arm-twisting by the White House is concerned. More privately, senators and representatives have made clear their shock at open attempts at blackmail from labor lobbyists. Old-line labor leaders have begun, in fact, to curb the wilder of their drumbeaters on the Hill. However subservient to labor some of the honorable gentlemen may have been, it is argued, they are not, as yet, dues-paying members of the AFL-CIO or unimportant adjuncts to the labor bureaucracy. A second ingredient in an insurrection which cost the President his "home rule" bill and, it is expected, repeal of Taft-Hartley's 14(b)—thereby opening the door to universal compulsory unionism—is congressional fatigue. Congress wants to go home.

◆ Passage by the House of a resolution stating its support of a revision of the Monroe Doctrine to permit intervention by any Western Hemispheric nation to prevent a Communist takeover in a sister Republic has badly jolted the journalistic custodians of Liberal-Left ideology. A series of stories has been running in the *Washington Post* attacking the State Department for its "surrender" to the House and attempting to convince readers that Latin Americans are not only up in arms over a resolution which has no weight in law—it simply states the House's point of view—but ready to march on the United States. No one has taken these stories very seriously. But, like Senator J. William Fulbright's attack on U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, they will be used extensively in Latin America to "prove" that "Yanqui imperialism" threatens the world.

◆ There were some worries among proponents of voluntary unionism that the opposition to the 14(b) repealer would not be properly and efficiently mounted. Whatever the outcome of the battle—and all signs indicate that pro-repeal Administration leaders in the Senate do not intend to hold the line very long—Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen has mobilized his troops and armed them properly. Working with Senator Sam Ervin, a Southern Democrat, he has worked out the kind of parliamentary strategy which will ensure the success of his filibuster. As of this writing, 39 senators will vote against cloture when Majority Leader Mike Mansfield calls for a vote—and that will kill repeal of 14(b) in this session and probably the next. The return of the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition in the Senate matches a similar restoration in the House over so-called home rule legislation.

◆ By attacking conservative Republicans, Senator Thomas Kuchel has taken on the mantle of Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Mr. Kuchel has used even stronger language than the Wrecker of '64 in describing those right of him as a "fanatical, neo-fascist, political cult overcome by a strange mixture of corrosive hatred and sickening fear, recklessly determined to control our party or destroy it." His purpose, of course, is to guarantee the defeat of Ronald Reagan when he runs against Governor Edmund (Pat) Brown in California next year. Senator Kuchel was answered effectively by Richard Nixon, who told the Republicans of his state: "The radicals of the Left pose a far greater threat to the Democratic Party in California than do the radicals of the Right in the Republican Party. The right-wing radicals are a fringe of the Republican Party. The left-wing radicals are part of the very fabric of the Democratic Party in California. . . As titular leader, [Governor Brown] should call on the Democratic Party of California to purge itself of the left-wing extremists who control the California Democratic Council and the California Young Democrats." Mr. Nixon was practicing what most Republicans seem to have forgotten—that you win elections by attacking the opposition, not your own party.

—CATO

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this will not prove to be the full blowoff, but the Sukarno regime is irremediably shaken, and Indonesia is in for a lengthy Time of Troubles.

The Poverty Soviets

Saul Alinsky, the self-styled "professional radical" from Chicago who makes his living organizing class war out of community protest, has more clients these days than he can handle. Fresh from Syracuse, where he recently mobilized the local anti-poverty program with revolutionary directives ("Openly engage in social conflict," "Lure the enemy into attacks . . ."), he responded to a call from the Rochester Area Council of Churches by setting up FIGHT, a militant Negro organization that considers sit-ins obsolete. ("Sit-ins," says Alinsky, "are now part of the experience of the power structure.") His method? "The only way to upset the power structure in your communities is to goad them, confuse them, irritate them and, most of all, make them live by their own rules. If you make them live by their own rules you'll destroy them." It's a message that goes down

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especially well with Protestant and Catholic church groups, and never better than when Alinsky attacks organized religion on behalf of the "have-nots," an amorphously constituted proletariat defined only by want, and by Alinsky.

Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation was set up in 1940, backed by labor unions, and sponsored by Chicago Bishop Bernard J. Sheil and the late Marshall Field Jr., millionaire merchant and publisher. Today the churches have replaced labor as the Foundation's principal support, which this year will amount to an income of $250,000. The Great Society has provided a fresh fall of have-nots, of whose special needs Alinsky professes such an intimate knowledge, and counsels such thrilling cures, that Detroit, Buffalo, Kansas City, Mo., and ultimately South Africa, are shortly to enjoy his services. Ask not what Alinsky can do for you, ask what he does for the hundreds of clergymen and laymen whose way of "living by their own rules" enjoins them to form soviets at the behest of a professional agitator whose philosophy—where hate is not, put hate in—is an explicit perversion of Christian charity.

Should We Give Japan Some Bombs?

In the years since the signing of the nuclear test-ban treaty, the main objective of U. S. disarmament policy—apparently shared in at least a general way by the Soviet Union—has been to stop "nuclear proliferation": to find some way to prevent additional nations making or getting nuclear weapons. (In a speech delivered October 5 to the meeting of NATO parliamentarians, Vice President Humphrey again assigned this "the highest priority of any world concern.") It is not unnatural that nations first possessing a critical new weapon should wish to keep other nations from getting it, and there is in this case a special reason why the U. S. Government has been so obsessed on this issue. A set of pre-McNamara whiz kids—though mostly in the Rand Corporation rather than the Pentagon proper—developed a pseudo-mathematical theory according to which the danger of nuclear war increases by an exponential factor equal to the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons: if three nations have the bomb, then the probability of war is the cube of probability when only one did; it is raised to the 5th power when five have it, etc.

This theory was never more than a hunch dressed up in mathematical symbols. It has no basis in experience. How, indeed, could it? Even if the theory once seemed to have some *a priori* plausibility, that has long ago disappeared (the probability of nuclear war is manifestly less today than some years ago when *fewer* nations had bombs), and there is no reason for a sensible person to pay any attention to it. However, because of the normal cultural lag in the bureaucratic mind, bureaucrats always operate according to doctrines that were exploded a decade or two back, and our disarmament-bureaucrats are still all-out non-proliferators.

The first and most obvious trouble with the anti-proliferation goal is the fact that it is impossible, and has already been shown to be impossible. All Washington's sorrow did not stop the Russians from getting nuclear weapons. The oligopolistic yearnings of the Anglo-American-Soviet nuclear troika did not stop France and China. Israel, India, Brazil, Belgium, Sweden, West Germany and several other nations could have A-bombs in a year or so if they decided to make them—and probably some of them have already decided. Egypt and Indonesia claim they soon *will* have them, and any nation could be given a few by a friend. It gets simpler and cheaper all the time to produce nuclear weapons; the technical abilities are widely available, and the raw materials readily come by. Reactors are springing up all over the globe, and the shift from civilian to military use is easy. Of course this doesn't mean that very many nations could have full-scale nuclear weapons systems, with adequate means for global delivery: that is possible for the present and some years to come only for the very few wealthiest and most highly industrialized nations. But it is altogether unrealistic to suppose that any agreement will prevent the spread of a modest nuclear arsenal to a number of other nations. "There are some clubs in which a new member can be admitted only by unanimous consent," Edward Teller wrote recently. "The nuclear club is different. Admittance does not require the consent of a single old member."

Some thoughtful persons, reflecting on these undoubtedly painful truths, have dumped the outdated theory and begun to ask themselves whether—since more nations are going to go nuclear whatever we do—it might not be a good idea to make sure, by voluntarily giving them a few bombs, that nations *we* pick would be among them. Might it not, as the French have argued, make for more, not less, stability, and for a decreased chance of general nuclear war? With a few bombs and a minor delivery system, a nation like France, Denmark, Israel or Switzerland, or, yes, West Germany, would not be able to launch a nuclear aggression, but would have the potential for a defensive blow (the destruction of Leningrad and Moscow, say) perhaps convincingly enough to deter a Soviet attack; deter it perhaps better than the U. S. super-system now does, since Moscow may no longer believe that the U. S., become

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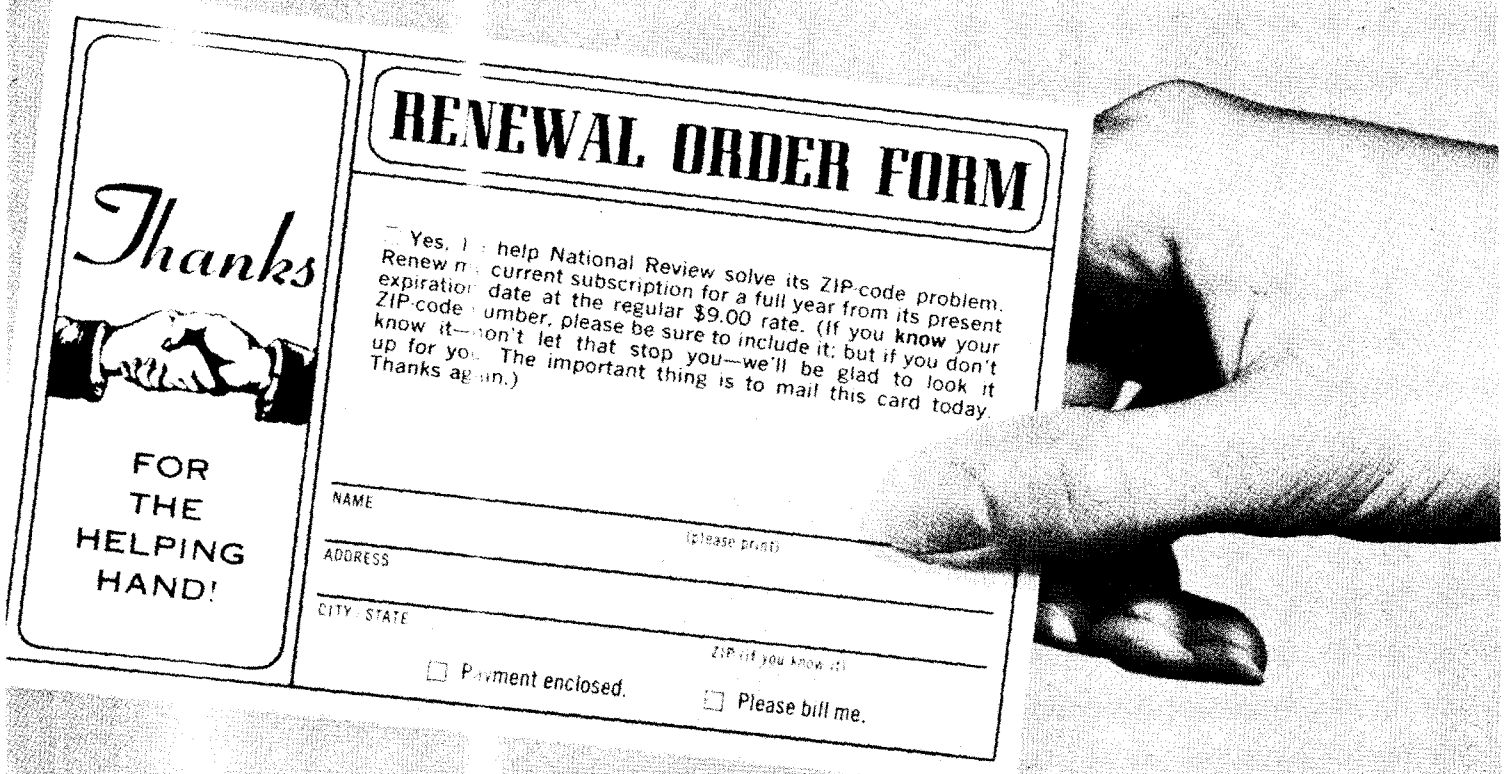
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exposed to Soviet missiles, would really undertake massive retaliation for the sake of Copenhagen, Tel Aviv or Geneva.

Then there is China's bomb; rather, bombs. Already their coercive influence is being felt throughout China's periphery, and may soon—when Manila, Bangkok, Tokyo and Calcutta know themselves directly under the cloud—become politically compelling. NATIONAL REVIEW proposed, after the first Chinese test, the destruction of China's nuclear installations, and there has been some sentiment to that purpose in Washington. Many arguments have been made against that plan, not all of them from the Softer side. Though we do not find these convincing, we nevertheless recognize that there is very little chance that this action will be carried out, unless Peking begins a large-scale attack outside its borders. What then can we do as these Chinese atoms multiply?

What might be the effect if Japan had a few nuclear bombs, and some planes or missiles able to take them to Peking, Canton, Nankow, Shanghai? Tokyo, capital of a densely populated, technically advanced, dynamic and proud nation, must feel the most threatened city of all on China's flanks. With a few bombs and vehicles, Japan would not be able to undertake a significant attack on China—or on anyone else—but would be in a position, very possibly, to threaten enough damage to knock aggressive plans out of Chinese Communist heads. Japan would become the counterweight to the Chinese nuclear capability.

The present Japanese Constitution—imposed by the U. S. Occupation in the backlash of the fierce Pacific war—contains a clause prohibiting Japan from having an army, navy or air force. This clause would have to be voided: and in the last couple of years there are signs that influential groups in Japan are moving toward that end. (The highly trained 250,000-man "domestic security force" would not need more than about five minutes to become an "army," even as things now stand.) At first sight the idea of arming our enemy of Pearl Harbor memory seems too astonishing to take seriously, but a lot of history flows under the bridge in a generation. Can we "trust" Japan? It is not a question of trust in this case, but of geopolitics: Japan must become a satellite of a nuclear-armed Red China or be able to stand up to her; and there is no reason to believe Japan will willingly become a satellite. In the Far Pacific, the reverse of the proliferation equation would seem to hold: a moderate number of bombs in *both* Japan's and China's hands would put the probability of nuclear war at not the square, but the square root, of its probability when China alone has got them.

Daily Mirror, London — Ben Roth Agency

"Fanny by Firelight"

Home Sweet Home Rule

The Congress has seen to it that the Administration's bill for "home rule" (one-man one-vote elected, fairly autonomous city government for Washington, D.C.) will get nowhere. In so doing, the Congress has asserted whether knowingly or unknowingly one of the ancient and necessary rights of a sovereign legislature: absolute, literally absolute authority over the seat of government. It is well, right, and constitutional that the Congress so decide, and it is worth remarking that the Congress was not called upon to pass a bill that would have stripped it of all its power over the District of Columbia, but merely a bill that would have provided a certain very limited field of self-government for the denizens of the District.

The fascinating thing is that the Congress was sensitive enough to the ultimate implications of a minute initial appeasement (or encroachment) to reject the proposal out of hand. Political philosophers since Aristotle have noted that governments are commonly not overthrown in a swoop, but abraded and eroded through a series of small concessions. Congress acted in this instance as if it understood the great political teachers of the past.

Well and good. Now there are those who have made note of other small encroachments in other areas in recent years, and who have called Halt! only to be informed by Congress that a dash of federal aid won't mean federal control, or that the proposed tax is only temporary, that price supports don't bring acreage controls, the states will still be sovereign, medicare won't mean socialized medicine. . . .

Very sensitive everyone is when his own rights are threatened, and the average politician is very unimaginative when he is asked to consider the rights of others. Home rule is sweet because liberty is sweet. The prior question is, whose home shall it be? Congress has rightly claimed possession of its house. It must be a wonderful feeling, to be absolutely safe from the encroachments of government.

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Bitter Salt of a Stranger's Bread

Writing from Miami Springs, Fla. on September 10, General Elias Wessin y Wessin, former commander of the Dominican Armed Forces Training Center, addressed to Hector García-Godoy, Provisional President of the Dominican Republic under the "Act of Reconciliation," a formal letter, the principal part of which reads:

Mr. President:

I write this letter a few hours after my arrival here, in order to define in a precise way my position in relation to the recent events in which I have been involved.

The Dominican people are aware that it is because of my loyalty during the critical situation beginning April 24th that at this moment our country is not totally dominated by Communism.

A basic military sense of honor prohibits me from accepting the post of Consul General in Miami for a government that has used foreign troops to force me into exile. This I made known to [Brazilian] General Alvin and [U.S.] General Palmer when they notified me that I was designated Consul in Miami.

The very afternoon on which Generals Alvin and Palmer told me that I had to leave and a lieutenant of the American Army prevented me from returning to my house to pick up my clothes and passport, I made up my mind that I would not serve such a government in the Miami consulate or anywhere else.

I never imagined that an officer of my rank would be taken to an airport in full uniform and sent out of his country with a bayonet at his back.

The American representatives who ordered my ouster from Dominican soil in such a humiliating way have struck a decisive blow against the fight for democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Can you imagine the impact this act by the OAS and the U.S. Government will have on the Latin American military?

Do you believe that Latin American officers and soldiers will be inclined to fight Communism when they know that the reward for the fulfillment of their duties will be expulsion from their country and the loss of their military career?

When the American troops arrived in the Dominican Republic, after the men under my command had withstood the assault of a Communist mob filled with vengeance and death, I never imagined that, making common cause with the enemies of democracy, they would throw me out of my country in a manner that is hardly to the credit of those who claim to be the leaders in the fight for the survival of the West.

I have arrived at Miami without a passport or money, and with clothes given to me by the officers of Fuerte Amador in Panama, but I still have my dignity and my name. The men who fight for an ideal cannot be destroyed, for even if they are physically annihilated, the ideal will remain unaltered.

I have always been an honorable soldier, and this is well known to American Intelligence, which has poked into dossiers all over the world searching for evidence that would mar my reputation.

I am now compelled to break up my home, sell my house and furniture, and be separated from my family.

To support my family and begin over again, I have only the pension to which I am entitled after twenty-one years of service in the Armed Forces of my country.

My ousting from my country foreshadows grave events for the cause of democracy. What Dominican soldier who has respect for himself will be willing to accept responsibility when Communism launches its final attack against our country?

At this time the world is struggling for survival against the Communist scourge and we need men of profound conviction to come to the defense of democracy. If such men are ruined in order to satisfy political ambitions or to appease Communism, this will lead us to total destruction.

My departure will be a shameful page in the political history of the Dominican Republic and for those heads of government, like yourself, who were responsible for it. No Dominican can remain unaware of such a monstrous deed, and the day will come when truth will find its way against treason and deceit.

I repeat that I cannot accept the post of Consul, because that would put me in the service of betrayed Dominican democracy, a disloyalty on my part toward the brave soldiers and officers who stood with me during those tragic days when blood flowed on Dominican soil.

I cannot betray the soldiers and officers of the Armed Forces; that would be cowardice on my part. I cannot abandon the Dominican people; that would be to abandon the ideals of Duarte, Sanchez, and Mella. I cannot turn my back on American democracy, because that would open the doors to Communism and allow it to kill our way of life.

We must speak like General Juan Sanchez Ramirez at the battle of Palo Hincado, when his troops were retreating before Napoleon: "Death to the soldier who turns tail! Death to the drummer who sounds retreat, even if I am that officer!"

I hope that the United States Government will not commit new mistakes and will understand that to sacrifice democratic-minded soldiers is not the best method for holding back the advance of Communism. I hope the United States will be able to destroy the network of infiltrators who conspire against liberty on their own territory, in many instances even within the offices charged with foreign affairs.

In publicly criticizing the action against my person, it is not my intention to give the Communists a weapon with which to attack the United States. I merely want to make it clear that I denounce the action of those evil-minded Americans who are ruining the prestige of their great nation, and I hope that soon there will be a healthy reversal of the ambiguous policies that it has pursued in my country.

Remember, Mr. President, that it will be very difficult for you to deal with the Communist conspiracy by committing injustices against the soldiers and the democratic-minded people of our country. You would then have to accept the permanent presence of foreign troops in our country; that is, the final abandonment of our sovereignty.

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ON THE RIGHT

Chasing McCarthy's Ghost

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Former Senator Charles E. Potter—remember?—has a book coming out next week, called *Days of Shame*. Mr. Potter was a Republican senator from Michigan during the McCarthy period, and he served on the special committee that investigated the Army - McCarthy feud. His book, as the title suggests, is devoted to the proposition that not enough people have spit on McCarthy's grave or continue to rail against Roy Cohn, and that therefore as long as the Avenging Angel gives strength, and a trade book publisher a suitable advance, at least one book per year should be dedicated to making absolutely certain that McCarthy stays good and buried, deep in the infamous graveyard especially selected for him.

Buckley

Mr. Potter tells his story from a context not altogether clear. On the one hand, there is the record at the funeral services of his colleague, Senator McCarthy, when Senator Potter intoned his gratitude: "Even the severest critic of Senator McCarthy would say that he—more than any other person in this country—did one very valuable thing: he awakened the American people to the dangers of Communism. . . . As a result of that awakening on the part of the American people, today the country is much more aware of the sinister aspirations of international Communism. Mr. President, Joseph McCarthy is missed from the United States Senate."

Who would have thought that the man who spoke those words would, ten years later, recalling the McCarthy years, have written, as Mr. Potter indeed has done in his book, the following passage: "All of a sudden" (he is explaining the national mood in which McCarthy rose) "our Russian allies had become the new enemy, and the Germans and Japanese were being called our good friends . . . Now we were told we must hate the Russians because they were Communists although I could not remember any such complaint about them when they blasted their way out of Stalingrad and started to roll westward over the German armies." And off we go.

The book is a regurgitation of the hard anti-McCarthy myths, very little being left out, including any subsequent discoveries that had the effect of vindicating certain of Senator McCarthy's positions. How very ancient the echoes are. One has to be middle-aged at least to remember the names of Dr. Irving (Who Promoted? . . .) Peress; or that of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss. Dr. Peress was the "pink dentist," to recall Senator Flanders' genial description of him, who refused, pleading the Fifth Amendment, to advise Senator McCarthy's committee whether, while he was serving in the Army of the United States, he was taking orders from the President of the United States, or the President of the Soviet Union. Dr. Peress emerges, in Mr. Potter's story, as a valiant defender of American constitutional traditions. Never mind that he was identified under oath as a Communist Party member.

McCarthy Charge Substantiated

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, who became a symbol of Senator McCarthy's irresponsibility, emerges as a victimized, middle-aged, otherworldly Negro lady, thoroughly confused by the accusation that, while earning a salary as, of all things, a code clerk in the Army, she was a member of the Communist Party of the United States. Although Mr. Potter's book will not be published until next week, he has not yet caught up with the embarrassed revelation of 1958—four years after Senator McCarthy's charges against Mrs. Moss were laughed away—by the Subversive Activities Control Board that indeed, what do you know, ho ho ho, the Mrs. Moss Senator McCarthy said was a member of the Communist Party turns out, ho ho ho, to have been just that.

Mr. Potter's assistants presumably did not divulge the datum to the author. Who were his assistants? The reader would never know; but I know, because an anonymous gentleman slipped me a copy of the original prologue of Mr. Potter's book. I say original, because it is not the prologue that will appear next week. It has been changed. The original draft, of which I have a copy, contains the following sentence: "My gratitude goes to many of those mentioned in this story for the time they gave and the effort they made to help me put it together, *to Stanley Faulkner for certain legal suggestions,* and to Roger Treat for research and editorial advice." The italicized phrase is mysteriously omitted from the finally published version. One wonders why. Could it be because some critic might have recalled that Mr. Stanley Faulkner, who gave Mr. Potter all that advice, was the lawyer who defended Irving Peress, a lawyer many times reported in the press as involved with Communist front organizations?

It is not the purpose of this analysis to vindicate Senator McCarthy's central contentions during the Army-McCarthy period—let that be done, if it is do-able, in a substantial work of thorough scholarship. It is rather my purpose to reveal how it is that myths get certified, and what it is that conservatives mean when, from time to time, they refer to "dupes."

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Letter from the Continent

The German Elections

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Now the battle is over, and the polls have been proved wrong. Though failing to get an absolute majority, the combined CDU-CSU have gained. The Social Democrats made slightly larger gains, but they did not pull ahead of the CDU-CSU. The third party in the *Bundestag*, the Free Democratic Party, lost almost a million votes. But the Social Democrats, again disappointed in their hopes of getting their candidate elected Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic, also suffered a great loss. By 1969 the CDU-CSU will have held power for a fifth of a century, and defeat after defeat (even if combined with a slow inching-ahead) creates a strong sense of frustration. Nobody likes a perennial loser.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

The End of Brandt

It seems now that Willy Brandt's "national" career is quite over; he will not become the leader of the opposition in Bonn, and the Social Democrats will have to look for another figurehead. His failure (he was being groomed to become another Kennedy, another young man with a lot of hair and an attractive wife) leaves the Socialist rostrum empty. Brandt was never popular within the party, a fact overlooked by American newsmen, most of whom, as the German press noted (not without a touch of *Schadenfreude*), were taken completely by surprise when Brandt lost. They probably believed our polls, which prophesied a neck-and-neck race, or perhaps they thought that such a dapper politician, a "regular guy" with progressive ideas, was bound to defeat the bunch of professors, industrialists, ministers, and aristocrats who carry so much weight in the CDU-CSU. The average German took a good look at the Social Democrats' curiously ill-chosen election slogan, "What's Safe is Safe," and voted rather for the two "Union parties," as they are often called.

The two parties waged a clever fight. Adenauer, in his ninetieth year, enthralled the crowds—not with demagoguery but with deadly simple speeches and the driest wit. And Professor Erhard was too good a symbol of prosperity—shape, cigar, and the rest of it—to be dropped. The CSU forged ahead in Bavaria, but the biggest gains of the Christian parties are recorded in the North and Far North. This is good news because it shows that the CDU (which took off from the remnants of the Catholic Center Party) is striking deeper and deeper roots in Lutheran soil. But if the Lutheran orthodoxy now leans toward the CDU, the Liberal circles still tend in the direction of the FDP.

The shape of things to come in Bonn is not yet absolutely clear. Behind the scenes movements and trends, which to the non-German without a profound knowledge of the German past and its ideological currents must seem rather puzzling, are making themselves felt. The first thing one has to bear in mind is the fact that the CSU, the Christian Social Union, a purely Bavarian party and the only one in the *Bundestag* not calling itself "democratic," was spawned not by the old *Zentrum* but by the Bavarian People's Party, which always was "federalistic" ("states' rights" and monarchist) in sentiment. The Bavarian political climate is even more difficult for the outsider to grasp. Bavaria is the only federal state with a homogeneous historical tradition. Bavarian Socialists were "good royal Social Democrats" and Munich was the city of Adolf Hitler's failure—not of his success. (Here the Nazi vote was far below the national average obtained in all elections.)

The CSU is not under the leadership of Dr. Adenauer, who remains chairman of the CDU only. The CSU is led by Franz Josef Strauss, one of the most colorful figures in German politics—a brilliant and impetuous intellectual, shrewd, independent, and very likely to be Chancellor one day. The special target of Germany's leftist intelligentsia, he is the man most hated by Erich Mende, chief of the FDP, and Herr Augstein, who runs *Der Spiegel*. Strauss, however, is in a position to call the shots for the CDU—at least some of them. Strauss's CSU is actually strong enough to form a majority with the Social Democrats, and it is this uncomfortable possibility which forces the CDU to take his "advice." Adenauer shares Strauss's dislike for Mende and also for Herr Schroeder, the present Foreign Minister (an Erhard man), who may have to be replaced, thus weakening the "Anglo-Saxon" fraction in the CDU, which is headed by Erhard and symphathizes with the FDP. Adenauer dislikes this wing and has little enthusiasm (to put it mildly) for Chancellor Erhard. When somebody recently remarked in his presence that "Erhard would have to be nailed down," Adenauer replied drily: "Just try nailing down a pudding."

The 'Great Coalition'

As it happens, Adenauer and Strauss, along with President Luebke, favor the "great coalition" with the Social Democrats, a position that completely confuses the uninitiated, since Adenauer and Strauss are far more "conservative" than either Erhard or Schroeder. The reasons are mainly two: the chiefs of the CDU and the CSU are a) convinced that the Social Democrats would make more pliable partners than the "grand bourgeois" FDP, and b) they believe that certain radical reforms of the German constitution are long overdue—reforms, however, which could only be made with a two-thirds majority in the *Bundestag* and which would stand no chance against a Social Democratic opposition.

In the past Adenauer always opposed a coalition with the Socialists, but now, with the CDU leading from strength, he thinks that a temporary alliance could be risked.

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The John Birch Society and

SPECIAL FEATURE SECTION

The Conservative Movement

The Editors of National Review

CONTENTS

1 The Background
2 Three Columns
3 The Birch Malady
4 Get US Out!
5 Questions and Answers
6 Commentary

1 In the opinion of the editors, the time has come to look once again at the John Birch Society and evaluate its role in the current American political scene. There are several reasons why the moment is now. 1) The Society is very plainly a beneficiary of the distress that ensued on the defeat of Senator Goldwater in his race for the Presidency last year. Enormous sums of money are pouring into the Society, which money is being spent—or a great deal of it—in cultivating points of view whose bearing on the anti-Communist struggle is harmful. 2) The Society has launched a great campaign to conscript new membership. The materials being used in that campaign are disingenuous. One Sunday supplement, for instance, published in many major cities of the United States, carried a picture of Dwight Eisenhower, with a text that seemed to say that Dwight Eisenhower approves of the John Birch Society. (It continues to be the belief of Mr. Robert Welch, the Society's founder and plenipotentiary executive head, that Dwight Eisenhower is a Communist.) 3) The Society, as witness Mr. Welch's single most important publication in any given year, the annual "Scoreboard" issue of *American Opinion* published every summer, seems to have reached, this summer, a new virulence, a new level of panic. That issue of the Scoreboard (see below) concludes that at this point the United States is "60-80 per cent" Communist-dominated. 4) Political contests of major significance are coming up involving important anti-Communist conservatives—for instance, Senator John Tower's campaign in Texas, and Ronald Reagan's campaign for the governorship of California—in which the John Birch Society will figure. It is important to win victories in Texas and California—and elsewhere; and important, therefore, to raise the question explicitly whether the activities of Mr. Robert Welch and of some of the members of the John Birch Society are at the margin helpful to such men as Tower and Reagan, or hurtful to them. And 5), the President of the United States is engaged in anti-Communist action in Southeast Asia, and for that reason is under great pressure from the American Left. But he is also, astoundingly, under pressure from a segment of the American Right—which has been taught

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by Mr. Robert Welch that apparently anti-Communist action undertaken by the government of the United States cannot really be anti-Communist for the reason that our Government is controlled by Communists. Such reasoning, depriving us as it does of the benefit of public support by conservatives for anti-Communist action when it does occur, needs to be analyzed, and resisted.

There is considerable curiosity, to judge from recent mail, about the history of NATIONAL REVIEW's position on Robert Welch and the John Birch Society. It dates back six years. Early in 1959, Mr. Welch wrote in *American Opinion* that Boris Pasternak's novel, *Dr. Zhivago,* which had been favorably reviewed in NATIONAL REVIEW, was an elaborate Communist plot; that his Nobel award had been the work of Communist cunning; that his subsequent banishment from the life of letters in Moscow was the final act in a protracted charade whose purpose was to persuade the reading public to read a book—*Dr. Zhivago*—which was in fact a subtle defense of Communism and the Soviet Union.

In April of 1959, Mr. Eugene Lyons wrote in NATIONAL REVIEW an article called "Folklore of the Right," subtitled, "Overestimation of the Kremlin's power to deceive and confuse the West leads to foolish mythmaking and dangerous self-delusion." Mr. Lyons concluded his piece by saying: "The Communist skill in trickery hardly justifies any of us in tricking ourselves. The trouble with such exercises in self-delusion is that, by reducing valid distrust of Communist behavior ad absurdum, they undermine the effectiveness of exposure of genuine Communist duplicities."

In October of 1960, the editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, having appeared jointly with Mr. Welch on a platform from which Mr. Welch advised the audience that the government of the United States was in "operational control of the Communist Party," wrote to Mr. Welch, whose John Birch Society had already been founded but was still secret: "The question arises, how grave are our differences? I would say they are very grave indeed . . . I do not want to pretend to you, with whom I have always dealt frankly, that I consider these differences as less than critical . . . I do hope that our personal relationship will not deteriorate, however openly it may from time to time be necessary to ventilate our differences." Mr. Welch replied: "Do not fret yourself over the matter. I have no intention of getting ruffled by the criticisms of my friends. This is especially true because I am so sadly certain that in due course circumstances will bring you around to accepting my analysis of our danger. . . ."

In our issue of April 22, 1961, shortly after the John Birch Society first became nationwide news—after copies of *The Politician* fell into public hands—NATIONAL REVIEW published an editorial, "The Uproar." In that editorial, NATIONAL REVIEW maintained a) that Mr. Welch's views, as crystallized in *The Politician,* in his conclusion that Eisenhower is a Communist, were a part of the analytical framework of other, official writings of the John Birch Society; but that b) the members of the John Birch Society could not be presumed to share those views; that their allegiance to the Society could very well be in spite of Mr. Welch's own views, rather than on account of them. The editorial concluded: "[We] hope [the John Birch Society] thrives, provided, of course, it resists such false assumptions as that a man's subjective motives can automatically be deduced from the objective consequences of his acts."

A year later, on February 13, 1962, we closely analyzed the most recent writings of Mr. Robert Welch and concluded that his distortions disqualified him from effective services as an anti-Communist leader.

"The fact of the matter is [our long analysis concluded] that Mr. Welch, by what Russell Kirk has called 'an excess of zeal, intemperance, and imprudence,' promotes a split in the conservative movement—by asking for the tacit support of men who cannot in good conscience give it, who, moreover, feel that to give it is to damage our chances of success. 'Cry wolf often enough,' Mr. Kirk wrote to Mr. Welch, 'and everyone takes you for an imbecile or a knave, when after all there *are* wolves in this world.' If we are to win the war against Communism, we have no less a task before us than to change national policy. Nothing is clearer than that Mr. Welch is not succeeding in doing anything of the sort, precisely because, by the extravagance of his remarks, he repels, rather than attracts, a great following. The John Birch Society requires for effective leverage, according to Mr. Welch's own estimates, one million members; it has, even after great national publicity, and largely because of Mr. Welch's 'intemperance of utterance,' less than one-tenth that many members, and is growing no faster than the movement to impeach Earl Warren, who remains as unimpeached today as when Mr. Welch first launched that ill-conceived campaign. Mr. Welch, for all his good intentions, threatens to divert militant conservative action to irrelevance and ineffectuality. There are, as we say, great things that need doing: the winning of a national election, the re-education of the governing class. John Birch chapters can do much to forward those aims, but only as they dissipate the fog of confusion that issues from Mr. Welch's smoking typewriter. Mr. Welch has revived in many men the spirit of patriotism, and that same spirit calls now for rejecting, out of a love of truth and country, his false counsels." ➤

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In the ensuing three years, climaxing in the August issue of Mr. Welch's publication, three things have become clear. The first is that Mr. Welch's views have not changed, on the contrary they have become (see below) more virulent. The second is that there is no effective movement from within the Society to contain Mr. Welch's utterances, or to remove him as the Society's leader. The third is that Mr. Welch succeeds in influencing his membership to believe those surrealisms which he first ventilated in *The Politician;* and that as the membership comes to believe the Welch analysis, it ceases to be effectively anti-Communist.

The following pages are in five parts. To begin with, we republish three columns by Wm. F. Buckley Jr. which appeared in August, the first of which was prompted by his reading of the Scoreboard issue of *American Opinion.* They serve the purpose of a) reproducing a few striking passages in *American Opinion* (indicating the high pitch of frenzy of Mr. Welch's current analyses), b) reproducing excerpts from the mail the first column provoked (indicating members' countenance of the wild opinions published in *American Opinion*), and finally c), reproducing excerpts from a letter by a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society which indicates the difficulty of rational discussion with someone who has accepted Mr. Welch's fundamental analysis.

There follows an analysis by Mr. Frank Meyer, a profound student of Communism, author of the famous *The Moulding of Communists,* of the essential error of the John Birch Society's reasoning (it makes no room for Liberalism; hence none for human beings). Mr. James Burnham, probably the country's leading anti-Communist strategist, discusses the incapacitating effect of such reasoning as the Birch Society promotes on vigorous anti-Communist action. Next is an attempt to answer some of the questions most frequently asked by correspondents who wrote in to protest Mr. Buckley's columns. Finally, we publish statements from leading conservative anti-Communists who have commented on the Birch Society and the anti-Communist cause. ■

On the Right

The Birch Society, August 1965

(For release Thursday, August 5, 1965, or thereafter)

2 The John Birch Society is engaged in a nationwide drive to convince the skeptics of its respectability. Thousands of members of the John Birch Society, who joined it eagerly as a fighting organization devoted to anti-socialism and anti-Communism, have been saying for years that the unfortunate conclusions drawn by Mr. Robert Welch about Dwight Eisenhower in 1958 are altogether extraneous to the Society's mandate, purposes, and mode of thought, and should therefore be ignored in assessing the Society, A.D. 1965.

I regret to say that it is in my judgment impossible to defend the leadership of the John Birch Society if one reads closely even its contemporary utterances. I should like to know how those members of the Society who believe that it long since departed from the mania of Mr. Welch's conclusions about Dwight Eisenhower can justify the current issue of *American Opinion,* the Society's monthly magazine, with its featured article about the extent ("60-80 per cent") of Communist influence in the United States (and elsewhere).

It is an unsigned, staff-written article, given especial prominence. And the editor calls attention to it on the masthead page: ". . . if you want to know what is going on in the world, we strongly recommend the next 144 pages to help you find out."

Mental health? "The attention of the American people was first drawn to the real problem of 'mental health' on October 1, 1962, when, in obedience to the specific demands of the Communist Party, a gang under the direction of Nicholas Katzenbach (now Attorney General of the U.S.), kidnaped General Edwin A. Walker in Oxford, Mississippi. . . ."

Medicare? ". . . the principal object of 'Medicare' is to destroy the independence and integrity of American physicians. . . . It will inevitably create a 'pressing shortage' of physicians and nurses. Communist provinces are sure to have a surplus . . . they will be glad to export to the United States to relieve the shortage."

The death of Kennedy? ". . . The Communists were able to exploit their assassination of Kennedy." ("It is gossip in Washington that Earl Warren succeeded in destroying all copies of the pertinent part of a motion-picture film which showed who escorted Jack Ruby through the police lines so that he could silence Oswald.")

Civil Rights? Selma: ". . . a horde of termites from all over the country, led by half-crazed ministers and professors, swarmed over the small town of Selma, Alabama, in a typical demonstration of Communist activism." The Civil Rights Act of 1964: "[It was a] part of the pattern for the Communist takeover of America." In general: ". . . [it is] an obvious fact that the whole racial agitation was designed and is directed by the international Communist conspiracy."

The economic situation? "The conspiracy can now produce a total economic collapse any time that it decides to pull the chain."

The lower courts? ". . . do not overlook the fine contributions made by the criminals whom the conspiracy has slipped into lower courts."

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The Supreme Court? "The theory that the Warren Court is working for a domestic, as distinct from foreign, dictatorship becomes less tenable every day."

The Federal Government? "Communist domination of many of the departments of the Federal Government is too obvious to require much comment."

Foreign policy? "As for Vietnam, one thing is certain: no action really detrimental to the Communists is conceivable or even possible, so long as Rusk, McNamara, and Katzenbach remain in power."

The Dominican Republic? ". . . the policy that began with the landing of Marines in Santo Domingo [came] under the direction of what often seems to be Communist headquarters in Washington—officially called the State Department."

Summary? "The important point is that Americans can expect only defeat so long as they are commanded by their enemies."

One continues to wonder how it is that the membership of the John Birch Society tolerates such paranoid and unpatriotic drivel. Until the members rise up and demand a leadership whose programs and analyses are based other than on the premise that practically every Liberal politician, every confused professor, every civil rights demonstrator, every ideologized judge, every bungling diplomat, every avid prosecutor, everyone who wants free medicine, and civil rights legislation, and government control of the economy, is an agent of the Communist conspiracy—until then, at least, they oughtn't to go about the country complaining that the Society is consistently misrepresented. Their own views are undoubtedly misrepresented. But their views aren't the Voice of the John Birch Society. That Voice you have just heard.

More on the Birch Society

(For Release Tuesday, August 17, 1965, or thereafter.)

One week ago I wrote a column expressing a dismay I felt sure was shared by the majority of the members of the John Birch Society at some of the positions being subtly advanced by the leadership of the JBS in its magazine, *American Opinion,* even while the Society is spending tons of dough to appease public opinion and persuade the average American that the leadership is non-kooky. The response has been discouraging to those who (like myself) have steadfastly adhered to the position that between the opinions of Robert Welch and those of his votaries there is a great gulf: that the latter calmly disbelieve, or ignore, his enormities, remaining loyal to the Society on the grounds that you need simply scrape off the barnacles of extremism and have left a trim seagoing hull bent on an upwind anti-Communist, anti-socialist course.

I am troubled by the initial response to that column, and have decided to extend my inquiry into the nature of the support of the John Birch Society in an effort to answer several questions. One: Is there in fact substantial disagreement between the membership at large, and the leadership of the JBS? Two: Do the members of the JBS make any attempt to understand what it is that the leadership of the JBS believes; or do they simply ignore the zanier findings of the leadership, taking shelter in the argument that the Society is anti-Communist, and that therefore all anti-Communists should support it?

Mr. Robert Welch, the founder of the John Birch Society, has often expressed his pride in the character and gentility of his members. I say it sincerely that I do not doubt that he is to a considerable extent correct. But I also doubt, to judge from the response to date, that he could easily explain away the manners of some of the more vociferous members of his Society.

Mr. William Patten of St. Louis, Mo., for instance, suspects my motives. "So, The Establishment has finally gotten to you! The word is Comply—or else! Or else what? Your magazine will not be distributed by 'accepted' distributors! Cancel My Subscription" (hereinafter, CMS). Mrs. Lenore McDonald of Los Angeles: "What Robert Welch wrote in *The Politician* (imputing pro-Communism to Dwight Eisenhower) is mild."

Mrs. W. D. Porter of Lexington: "Did you just have to do it? Couldn't you have left it to the Overstreets, Gus Hall, and perhaps Chet Huntley? CMS." Mr. William Gehrke of Denver, Colo.: "The same old smear method employed by the Liberals is used, namely, condemn the man and what he stands for but don't dare try to refute his facts [*i.e.,* that the United States is 60-80 per cent dominated by Communists, that being the conclusion of the article I quoted]. CMS."

Mrs. George Caldwell of San Crescento, Cal.: "Since I have just so much hate in me I must parcel it out rather sparingly, and as I understand you I am now to love Russia and hate the John Birch Society." Mrs. R. S. Matthews of New York: "One more thing before you open your big mouth again, ask Congress to give a hearing to Col. Goliewski." (Who will *prove* that Ike is a Communist?) Mrs. Monica Doeing of Santa Barbara, Cal.: "Do you mean that you *don't* think that the kidnaping of General Walker was a part of the Communist conspiracy? If so, you better get your head out of the sand."

Mr. and Mrs. John Dalziel of Brooklyn: "When you attack Robert Welch you attack every member in the Society." Mr. Arthur Barksdale of San Mateo, Cal.: "I have always believed you to be a true conservative. However, since you seem categorically to accept most of the left-wing programs I'm beginning to doubt your sincerity."

Mr. Robert Jonas of Oyster Bay, L.I.: "I am unable to understand whether in this latest attack, you are just being officious, or whether you periodically suffer from hot flashes, in some form of male menopause? CMS." Mr. James Oviatt of Los Angeles and Beverly Hills: "I am just wondering what Zionist Jew wrote this article? Could it have been Lippmann, Goldberg, or even Abe—Johnson's attorney? . . . I have known Bob Welch for over fifteen years; I think he told the truth about Eisenhower."

Miss Patricia Huster of Baltimore, Md.: "I believe I heard that there was some $95,000 involved in your last smear of the John Birch Society. How much did you get paid this

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time? And by the way, whose side are you on, anyway? CMS." Mr. Lee Adamson of Bellingham, Wash.: "I have heard a rumor that John Kenneth Galbraith is a majority stockholder in NATIONAL REVIEW."

And Mr. J. T. Timothy of Willimantic, Conn. (06226), sums it up in a single word, in large red crayon: "Judas!"

And Finally on John Birch

(For Release Saturday or Sunday, August 21 or 22, 1965, or thereafter)

I have labored to find the answer to the question: does the typical member of the John Birch Society wince when the leadership makes spectacular remarks imputing pro-Communism to the highest officials of government? I have received 200 (and they continue to pour in) letters since I quoted in this column from an article in the current issue of Mr. Welch's magazine, *American Opinion*. Of those 200 correspondents, only two (2) joined me in deploring the article's excesses.*

I quoted some typical reactions in an intermediate column. Today I quote from Mr. Frank Cullen Brophy of Phoenix, Arizona, whose distinguished career as a gentleman, banker, rancher, and writer is well known in the Southwest. He is a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society. Let us see how his mind reacts on the questions at issue.

I quoted from the *American Opinion* article the following sentence: "The attention of the American people was first drawn to the real problem of mental health on October 1, 1962, when, in obedience to the specific demands of the Communist Party, a gang under the direction of Nicholas Katzenbach (now Attorney General of the U.S.) kidnaped General Edwin A. Walker in Oxford, Mississippi."

Whereupon Mr. Brophy writes me: "General Walker *was* kidnaped, or at least seized unlawfully, confined in a mental institution or prison without proper medical examination, and after some days released due to the patriotic pressures of thousands of outraged Americans. The oddest thing about this is that you think it odd that the John Birch Society takes a dim view of such totalitarian tactics and tries to arouse people before it it too late."

Here, preserved in formaldehyde, is a specimen of the utter hopelessness of communication with anyone suffering from advanced Birchitis. I happen to agree with every syllable of Mr. Brophy's dismay at what was done to General Walker, and am abundantly on record to that effect. But the operative words in the Birch article were that Walker was detained *"in obedience to the specific demands of the Communist Party"*—words to which Mr. Brophy does not even bother to allude!

Again, I had quoted *American Opinion*: "The theory that the Warren Court is working for a domestic, as distinct from foreign dictatorship, becomes less tenable every day."

Mr. Brophy writes me, by way of justification: "The pro-Communist activities of the Court in recent years are so obvious that I find it hard to believe that you would find any comment to offer."

The vital difference between "pro-Communist in effect" and "pro-Communist in intention" it once again does not cross Mr. Brophy's mind to mention. When J. Edgar Hoover, by relaxing his vigilance, permitted several convicted members of the Communist Party to slip off to Mexico, the result was pro-Communist in effect; but hardly by design. When the Founding Fathers ratified the First Amendment to the Constitution, they committed an act that was profoundly pro-Jacobin, and ultimately pro-Communist, in effect; but was hardly such by design. When the Warren Court interprets that First Amendment in such a way as to grant license to the Communist Party, it is most certainly doing something that is pro-Communist in effect, but in the absence of evidence that the justices are secret friends of the Communist conspiracy, hardly pro-Communist by design. One can deplore, as for instance Professor Sidney Hook (and I) have done, the absolutization of the First Amendment in such fashion as to help conspirators without questioning the motives—as distinguished from the judgment—of the ideologues on the Court.

And besides, the Birch article suggests in plain English that the Warren Court is "working for," *i.e.*, is hoping to bring into being, "a foreign dictatorship," which is to suggest, pure and simple, that the majority of the Court are pro-Communist traitors.

Why are such elementary distinctions lost on Mr. Brophy? And on other members of the National Council of the John Birch Society? Hasn't their position, to judge from Mr. Brophy's analysis, clearly come down to the following propositions: 1) Things are going poorly for the United States these days. 2) The reason why is because the people who are running things are Communists and Communist symphatizers. 3) Anyone who believes in Proposition 1) yet cavils at the derivative Proposition 2) is either a) naive, or b) irrelevant; and in any event, c) a clear and present nuisance.

In the absence of public disavowals of this reasoning from responsible members of the John Birch Society, one must henceforward conclude that the minority who object to imputing pro-Communism to such as Attorney General Katzenbach, and to Justices Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan, are overruled; that the majority of the members of the Society sanction the imputation of treasonable motives to such men as these, not to mention Dean Rusk, Allen Dulles, Robert McNamara, etc., etc.

Mrs. Michael Vaccariello of Glendale, California, writes me: "I have often quoted your sentence [in *Up From Liberalism*, decrying the Liberals' toleration of some of Mrs. Roosevelt's enormities during the forties and fifties]: 'The intellectual probity of a person is measured not merely by what comes out of him, but by what he puts up with from others.' It seems to me, having written that and then having read that issue of *American Opinion*, you could only have written what you did—to have remained silent would not have been discreet, but debasing." Mrs. Vaccariello is a member of the John Birch Society. She appears, alas, to be hopelessly outnumbered. ■

*The current count is 600 letters, of which about 50 express misgivings over Mr. Welch's statements.

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Principles and Heresies

The Birch Malady

FRANK S. MEYER

Since the foundation of the John Birch Society, I have watched its development with mixed emotions and growing unease. Mixed emotions—because, on the one hand, many of the concerns about the future of our country which led members into the Society are, by and large, eminently just concerns, which I share; on the other hand, the Society's guiding analysis of the causes of our unhappy situation has seemed to me a grotesque distortion of reality, which could only misdirect the energies of its members. Growing unease—because as year followed year the distorted outlook of the Society has more and more prevailed over the original motivations and channeled the high devotion of its members in an increasingly questionable direction. Still, until recently, if the effect of the Society was to drain off in useless actions an enormous amount of potentially conservative energy, most of its activities were harmless, though a few were dangerous and some (on the other hand) were positive in their net effect.

Meyer

Recently, however, particularly in the period since last year's election, the practical political positions of the Society have less and less represented the general consensus of the conservative outlook, as they have sometimes done in the past, if in a distorted form, and begun consistently to express the underlying paranoid theories of Robert Welch. The culmination of this process was signalized in the August *Bulletin* of the Society when the slogan, "Get US Out," was transformed from an anti-UN slogan to a Get US Out of Vietnam slogan, placing the Birch Society alongside of SNCC, Staughton Lynd, the sit-iners and the draft-card burners, just at the moment when, however hesitantly and confusedly, both the political leadership of the United States and significant sections of the intellectual leadership were showing some signs of moving to counter the Communist danger.

Booby-Trapped

How has it come about that men with conservative instincts can be booby-trapped into such a position? How and why, for that matter, is the energy of those who follow the Society's leadership systematically withdrawn from the fight against the massive sickness of our society, Liberalism? Or distracted from the struggle against the corrosion of the Constitution, a corrosion for which Court and Executive and Legislature, the intellectual world and the mass-communications world, are all responsible, to be concentrated in a puerile attack on one man, Earl Warren, who is no better or worse than others? Or how, on question after question, is potential support for action to revitalize our society diverted from constructive activity by an insistence that any and every social ill—from psychiatric interference with due process to a quarter-century of disastrous Liberal foreign policy—is a Communist plot?

The answer to all these questions can be found only if we realize that the John Birch Society as an institution and as a force guiding the actions of its members is based in its very essence on a political analysis and a political doctrine which compound, in a profoundly misleading manner, an element of truth, a vast blindness, and a radically defective theory of history and the nature of man. The element of truth is the understanding that world Communism drives toward the destruction of America and the conquest of the world. The blindness is an apparent complete lack of awareness of the nature, of the differentiated character, seemingly of the very existence, of the major domestic enemy of our constitutional society—Liberalism. The historical and philosophical error is an error endemic in human history, but profoundly alien to the spirit of Western civilization—the belief that there are two kinds of men, good and evil, and that evil only arises in society as the result of the conscious effort of evil men, banded together to produce it.

The Illusion of All-Pervading Conspiracy

It is this last element in the amalgam, the concept of conscious evil as the engine of history, which leads to the central Birch conclusion, that the present state of American society is the direct result of the operation of a conspiracy, and whatever future dangers arise will be the work of that conspiracy.

Since there is, in fact, a Communist conspiracy of some significance acting domestically; and since the most clear and present danger facing us actually comes from Communism as a world force, there is a tenuous connection to reality in the particular form their conspiracy theory takes—but it is a specious connection. The domestic Communist conspiracy is not the cause of the decay of American society; it is not the cause of the decay of our values, of the decline of education, of the fatuousness of the general line of our foreign policy since World War II, of the rising rate of crime, of the steady sapping of constitutional safeguards, or of most of the evils that beset us. The domestic Communist conspiracy is a danger only as it operates, thoroughly camouflaged, as the parachute division of an enemy army; its camouflage would be stripped from it at any time that the Liberal atmosphere, in which it now skilfully maneuvers, were dissipated.

As a matter of fact, although the main form the conspiracy theory takes in the outlook of the John Birch Society is the idea of a massive and overwhelming Communist conspiracy, a perusal of its literature and of the writings of some of its leaders shows a partial acceptance also of a number of the other conspiracy theories that float around in its penumbra. One can find elements of belief in an Illuminati conspiracy, a Fabian con-

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spiracy, a Bilderberger conspiracy, a Council of Foreign Relations conspiracy. Sometimes a number of these are held at once, without explanation of the patent contradiction, and sometimes there are dark hints of an unnamed super-conspiracy that masterminds all of them. The atmosphere is redolent of vast mysterious evil, and the complex world of American political reality, in which all the participants—the good guys and the bad guys alike—are ordinary human beings, all partaking of original sin, is seen as a cosmic Manichaean battlefield dominated by a monstrous force of pure evil.

Liberalism—not Conspiracy

There is no room here for misplaced idealism, intellectual error, the lures of power, the weaknesses and vanities of men. These are the elements always present in society, which, when they get the upper hand, corrode a well-constituted social order and bring about its decay. These are the elements of the established Liberalism against which American conservatives are fighting. We fight Liberalism not because all Liberals are evil men; nor even because Liberalism itself is an incarnation of absolute evil; but because it is the American expression of the worldwide twentieth - century socialist and statist movement of thought and action which would destroy the ordered freedom of Western civilization and our republic.

Liberalism is indeed to be fought. But it is not an external, homogeneous enemy; it is the product of complex but determinate factors in the history of our own civilization, and it is expressed in all the diverse phenomena—social, economic, political—which have been analyzed and criticized in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW week by week for ten years. Essentially the problem of combatting Liberalism is the problem of revitalizing our society, on every level, from the philosophical to our day-to-day manners and morals. The conservative task is one of regeneration—intellectual, political, personal. It is not a simple arming of the good for the casting out of satanic enemies.

All this human reality is ignored, however, in the outlook of the John Birch Society. Everything is seen, not as it is, but as the operation of a vast conspiracy of evil.

Eisenhower is not taken for what he was as President, a man of limited stature, reflecting Liberal concepts which he hardly understood—but as the conscious agent of international conspiracy.

A half-century of juridical positivism and Liberal social policy has led to the anti-constitutional decisions of the Supreme Court and the anti-constitutional attitudes of its justices; only when the prevalence of these doctrines is ended can the Court be purified. But, for the John Birch Society, the corruption stems from the evil incarnate in one man, the Chief Justice; remove him and good will triumph.

The sources of the civil rights movement are manifold. Certain just, if limited, grievances of the Negro people have been magnified, and have been extended to a challenge of our whole constitutional structure, primarily as the result of the operation of Liberal ideology. It is true that here (as everywhere it profits them) Communist groups are active, seeking to take advantage of the turmoil, and are sometimes successful in penetrating sections of the leadership of the movement. But the movement is not a Communist movement, as the John Birch Society implies with every device of rhetoric, with pictures, with innuendo, and often with straightforward statement. There is, of course, much in the civil rights movement that conservatives should oppose; but when it is attacked in the Birch manner, on the basis of an obsessed insistence on conspiracy ("it's all a Communist plot"), sober opposition is discredited and great positive harm done the conservative cause.

Insidious Warping of the Mind

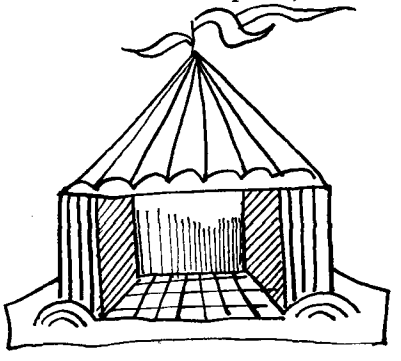
Such distortion and diversion of energy is dangerous enough, but there are no limits to the conclusions to which an obsessive theory of conspiracy can lead. That is why the patriotic and anti-Communist followers of the Birch Society are now, in the Vietnam crisis, being lined up by its leadership directly in opposition to the interests of the United States and to the struggle against Communism. The argument which leads from conspiratorial obsession to this fantastic conclusion, can be followed in recent issues of *American Opinion* and of the Birch Society *Bulletin*.

(Here, briefly, is the thesis which my colleague Mr. Burnham will elaborate in his column in this issue.)

It is a simple argument, if an insane one: the United States is 60 to 80 per cent under the control of Communists; therefore, the reasons for any action by those who control American policy must be sought in subservience to Communist aims; therefore, the war in Vietnam is being carried out to achieve Communist aims (those aims, incidentally, are to serve Moscow's interests in perpetuating the idea of a Sino-Soviet split and to fasten a domestic dictatorship on the United States under the pretext of war emergency). The argument is garnished with allusions to the du Berrier-Welch thesis that Diem was a Communist. And the operative conclusion is identical with that of the radical American Left; it arrays the Birch Society with the Left against the Vietnam war.

The false analysis and conspiratorial mania of the John Birch Society has moved beyond diversion and waste of the devotion of its members to the mobilization of that devotion in ways directly anti-conservative and dangerous to the interests of the United States. It is no longer possible to consider the Society merely as moving towards legitimate objectives in a misguided way. However worthy the original motivations of those who have joined it and who apologize for it, it is time for them to recognize that the John Birch Society is rapidly losing whatever it had in common with patriotism or conservatism—and to do so before their own minds become warped by adherence to its unrolling psychosis of conspiracy. ■

(JBS and the Conservative Movement continued on p. 925)



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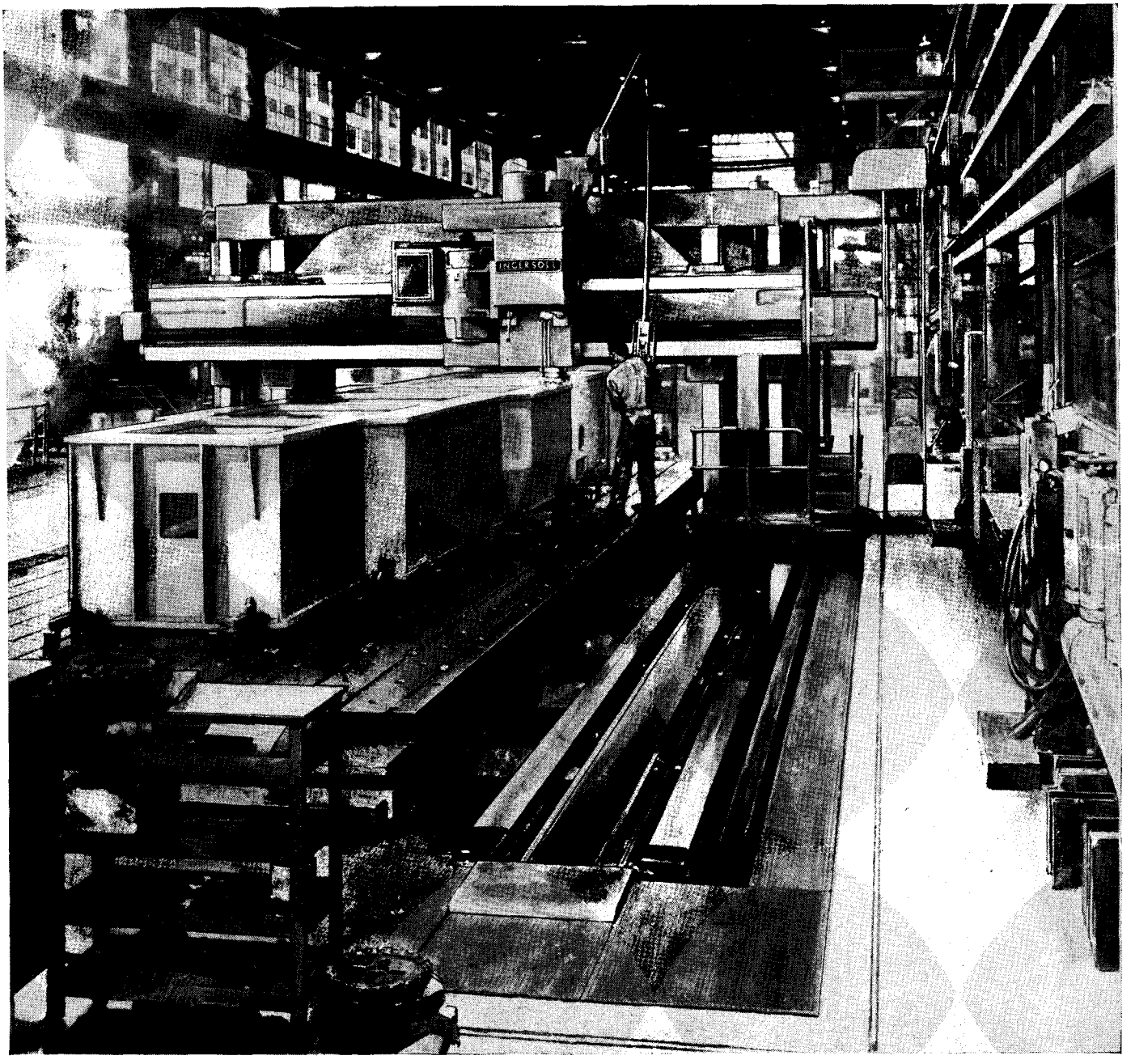

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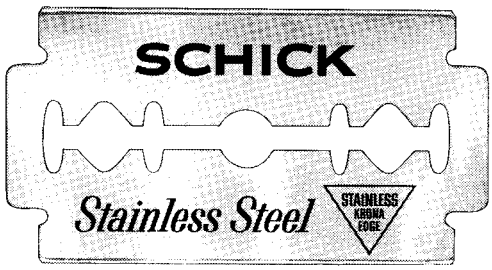

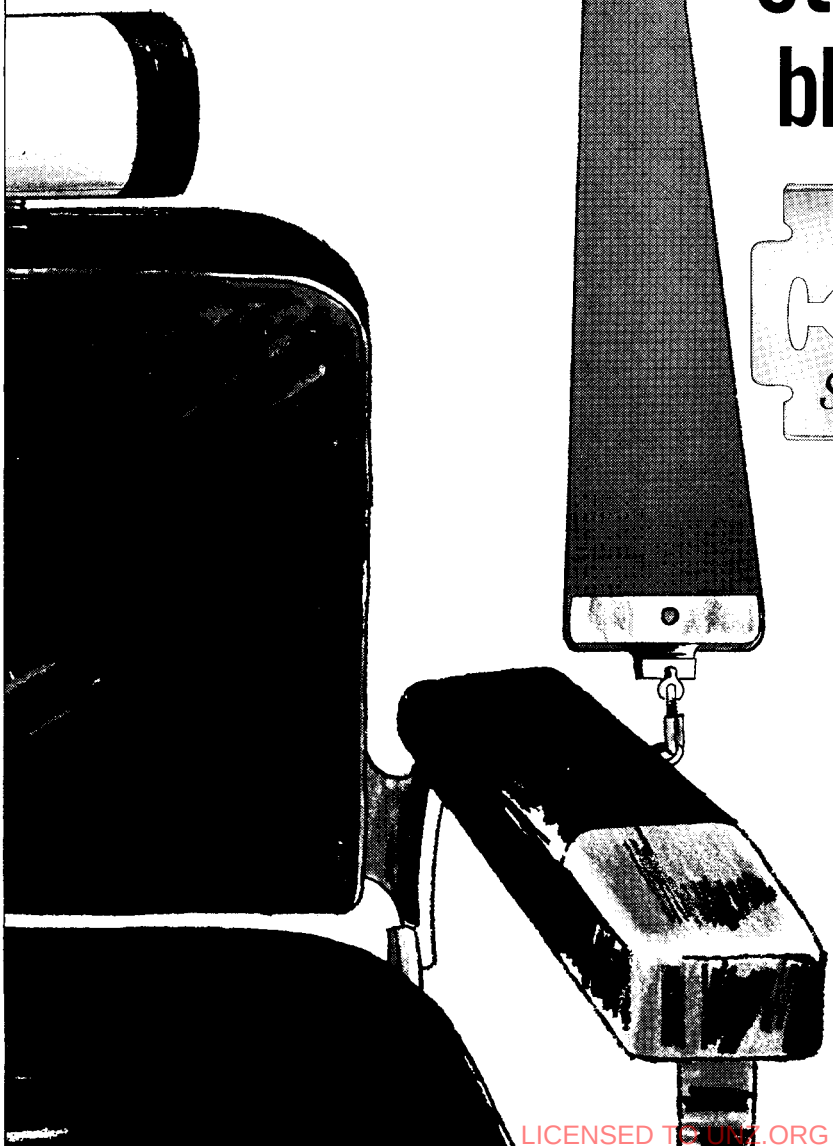

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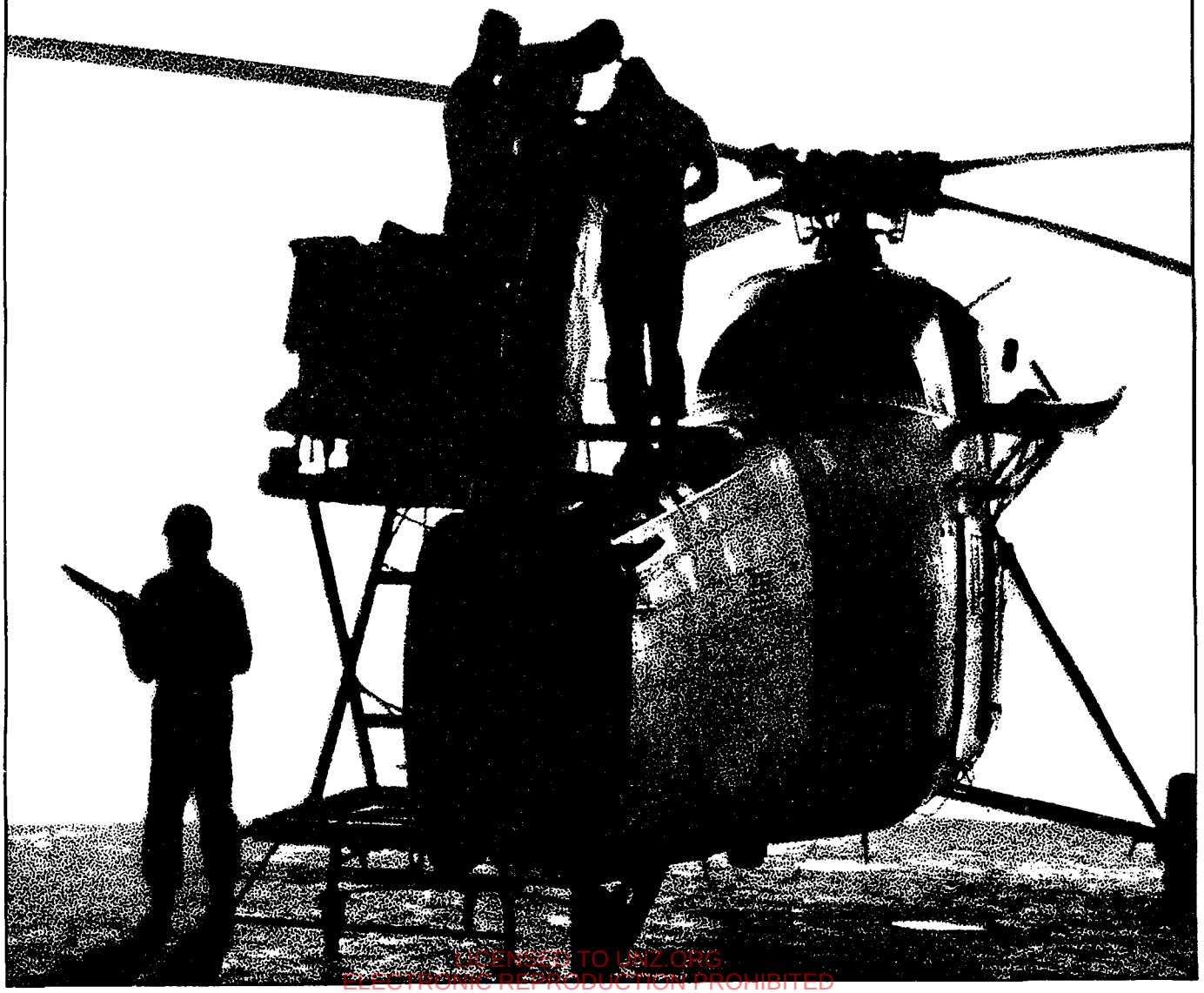

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The Third World War

Get US Out!

JAMES BURNHAM

A friend of mine, a while ago, asked me whether I had seen the stickers being displayed by "the teach-in crowd." She went on to report the slogan as "Get US Out!" So I explained that those stickers, far from being the product of teach-iners, were a John Birch Society operation, and had been introduced as part of a long-time Birch campaign to get the U.S. (and "us," making the pun) out of the United Nations. She was not impressed with my explanation. "What those stickers mean now to everybody who sees them is, 'Get the U.S. out of Vietnam!'—and that's the pacifist-Commie line."

Burnham

My friend was not alone in her puzzlement. In the August issue of the JBS *Bulletin*, Robert Welch acknowledges that "a few of our members have become disturbed because our slogan with regard to the United Nations, Get US Out!, is being taken by some people to mean 'Get US Out of Vietnam!' " Mr. Welch then transcribes one of his suspended hypotheticals: "And if it becomes desirable to avoid that confusion, we can change the usual form of the message to: 'Get US out of the UN!' " But it quickly emerges that the hypothetical can be forgotten, that the change is neither necessary nor desirable. "It may soon become clear"—Welch for "Here is the advance word that each of you can catch up with at your own mental pace"—"that there is little [translate "no"] difference in the effective meaning of either version." Then, a few sentences later, the summation: "So we say *Get US Out!*, and add no ifs or buts."

I have always felt that Mr. Welch's highly personalized prose had a very special foundation. It has the texture of jelly only partly congealed, so that there is always some dripping over the edges when you manage to get a bit on your biscuit. But he is stating here, as plainly as he states anything, that he accepts and supports the natural interpretation of one of the JBS propaganda slogans *as advocating U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.* It may be added that he advances no other proposal with respect to the Vietnam affair, which is the most critical challenge currently confronted by the United States.

How Did We Get Here?

Many, and I think most, JBS members must be astonished to find their organization occupying this position; so astonished as not yet to be prepared to realize or believe that this *is* the JBS position—though, as Mr. Welch would put it, "it may soon become clear" to them. They feel themselves to be patriotic and anti-Communist citizens; in fact, it was the special strength of their patriotic and anti-Communist sentiments that led them to join the John Birch Society in the first place. How, then, can it conceivably be that when a real crisis—a war, in fact—develops, the Society somehow ends up alongside the Communists, pacifists, and slobs on the wrong side of the line, demanding that we "Get Out!", instead of with those of their fellow-citizens who are calling, as normal Americans have always done in the wars of the past, "Stand Firm!"

It is a usual effect of a serious crisis—major depression, runaway inflation, above all a war—to draw into the open the hidden, or half-hidden, practical meaning of a political doctrine. In relatively quiet times one may juggle abstractions, make exaggerated distinctions, and debate high-sounding principles. But when the chips go down, the issues become few and sharp, the choices are radically narrowed, and it's usually Yes or No with not much in between. Thus it was, for example, with the broad movement of Marxism in 1914, when the outbreak of war forced an open split between the reformist (social democratic) wings that then supported their fatherlands, and the radical (Communist) wing that came out for "revolutionary defeatism." The Vietnam war has not reached the point at which the whole pack is exposed, but it already compels each player to show a number of his cards. Thus it has split the broad Liberal-Left camp into the hard ideological wing which stages teach-ins and advocates withdrawal, and the more pragmatic types, who took up Liberalism mostly because Liberalism was the prevailing wind. And Vietnam is bringing painfully to the surface some unexpected implications of Birchism.

How has it come about that in relation to the Vietnam war the John Birch Society is lined up with its supposedly diametric opposite, the Left, in support of Getting Out, not Standing Firm? At least three factors are at work.

Consequences of Ideas

One is simply the logical extension of the Birchite doctrine and analysis. The late Richard Weaver, by the title of one of his books, reminded us that Ideas Have Consequences; but this principle the Society has failed to apply to its own system. For years it has used words irresponsibly, chiefly for their magically evocative and emotion-rousing effect; and the words are beginning to take their revenge. The 1965 JBS Scoreboard (*American Opinion*, August) lists "the present degree of Communist influence or control over the economic and political affairs" of the United States at "60-80" per cent. This rating is discussed and reaffirmed in a lengthy commentary (*AO*, Aug., pp. 68ff.) which insists on the literalness of the rating. "It is not too much to say that the Conspiracy's greatest single asset in the world today is the fact that our score will seem utterly unbelievable and preposterous to so large a part of the American people. . . . What has been indicated [by the discussion that includes the State Department, Pentagon, Treasury and courts among the "many departments of the Federal Government" wherein "Communist *domination* (my italics) . . . is too

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obvious to require much comment"] should suffice to support our estimate that Communist control is now somewhere between 60% and 80%." All this mumbo jumbo is part of the "coldly dispassionate and (so far as is humanly possible) objective reports and analyses of the *present* situation" provided by "our consultants."

Very well: 60-80 per cent Communist. Now, 60-80 per cent is majority control in any man's league; and if that is "the present degree of Communist influence or control over the economic and political affairs" of our unhappy country—then our country —and most particularly, our government, or rather *their* government—*is being run by the Communists.* The U.S. is, in other words—if we were taking words seriously—*a Communist nation and has a Communist government.*

Red Washington at War

If the U.S. Government is Communist, then I, as an anti-Communist, must be opposed to it; opposed not merely, as every normal citien of any country will be to this or that particular measure his government takes, but integrally and totally opposed, even as a counter-revolutionist would be opposed; and opposed most especially to the most crucial of all measures—to a war into which the government takes the nation. Any war undertaken by such a government—a Communist-run government — must be a war that serves not true national but Communist purposes. It will be a fraud: a pretended, sham combat in which *both* sides are in reality commanded by Communists and fighting for Communism.

"Have we so soon forgotten Korea, where we know now that the Communists at the top, through their influence within our government [though it was only 20-40 per cent in those innocent days] and their control over the Red Chinese, were pulling the strings and determining the action on both sides?" remarks Mr. Welch in his August *Bulletin.* And further: "There [is] less chance of this Administration conducting an honest war in Vietnam, for honestly anti-Communist purposes, than there is of Khrushchev being elected President of the United States Chamber of Commerce." And yet again: "The Communists, by exercising a minimum of discipline and of control by propaganda, over a relatively few thousand beatniks and half-baked collegiate beats, and by passing the word to a few of their highly placed agents, create a left-wing demand that the U.S. pull out of Vietnam! And this gambit fools the American people into thinking that we are serving some purpose, other than exactly what the Communists want, by what we are doing in Vietnam! *Naturally the Communists have been doing everything to advance the theme that it is our patriotic and humanitarian duty to 'stand firm' in Vietnam"* [my italics].

There we have it spelled out: the idea that we should stand firm against an enemy who is daily killing our soldiers—as well as threatening to destroy our country's global defense system—turns out to be, no less, a Communist plant! The correct proposal for patriotic Americans is to retreat before the advancing enemy, withdraw and leave him unchallenged master of the field! And this topsy-turvy nonsense follows rigorously from the internal logic of Mr. Welch's obsessive fantasy.

A Gallic Touch

A second more or less accidental factor that has helped lead the Birch movement to its present unnatural posture on the specific issue of Vietnam is the frenzied writing of Hilaire du Berrier. So far as any sense can be made of du Berrier's Insider-Stuff articles (and his book, *Background to Betrayal*), he mixes with the standard Birchite delusions what can be called "the French perspective": another converging viewpoint that judges everything the U.S. has done or failed to do in Vietnam—outstandingly, the backing of Ngo Dinh Diem—as not only invariably wrong, but uniformly damaging to the local inhabitants and deliberately favorable to the interests of the Communist. "A one-hour"—note, one hour only — "carrier-based strike could have destroyed Ho Chi Minh's decimated army in March 1954, saved the beleaguered garrison at Dienbienphu and changed the course of history. But there was a virus in the bloodstream of America that desired a Vietminh triumph." In the JBS strategy, rapid-fire operations are routine. "Right now," estimates Welch in the August *Bulletin,* "we could make Ho Chi Minh's guerrilla cutthroats, *and* their Chinese Communist 'volunteers' and allies, all put their tails up and run for their lairs, while we set up a permanent and solidly anti-Communist regime in South Vietnam, all within three months if that were really our purpose."

And there is a third factor operating in the Birch *movement,* since it began spreading a bit over the country, that has had some influence in getting JBS members to accept the grotesque conclusions that Mr. Welch reaches on the Vietnam war and on the country's other foreign activities. Mr. Welch himself may not have anticipated this factor when he started out, but there are frequent signs that he now is not only well aware of its existence in his ranks but ready to give expression to it and even, in his own manner, to exploit its possibilities. I refer to the isolationist tradition that survives in many parts of this country, though it no longer gets much recognition even from many of those who still share it.

Mr. Welch's culminating paragraph in his August discussion of the "Get US Out!" slogan gives voice to this isolationist feeling with unaccustomed fervor: "So we say *Get US Out!,* and add no ifs or buts. From the very time the slogan was first conceived, we have recognized the possibility that there might be those who would interpret it more broadly, as follows: 'Get us out of this whole foreign worldwide mess in which we are playing so cruel and so ignominious a part, and let's clean up all the crime and dirtiness, and deficits and moral debauchery here at home.' But we have no objections to this meaning. We still simply say, as emphatically as we can: *Get US Out!* And we should like to repeat, for emphasis, that we knew exactly what we were saying, *and were looking ahead to the kind of situation,* when we first coined the phrase, *Get US Out!*" This isolationist feeling, which had a clear objective justification while great oceans were firm barriers, has deep and honorable roots in our national past. At times we all feel sympathy with that desire to get out of that "whole foreign worldwide mess,"

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even if we understand how modern conditions make that impossible. Mr Welch distorts and corrupts that feeling, and twists it into a reinforcement of his conspiratorial fantasies which any and every one of the great isolationist spokesmen of the past would have repudiated with aroused patriotic indignation.

Responsible conservatives have long tried to believe that the JBS though "misguided," was "going in the same direction," and therefore an "ally." Certainly this is the case with many, perhaps even most, individual JBS members. But unfortunately, under the years of brainwashing and organization control by Robert Welch, the Society as a collective body has taken off in directions where no conservative can prudently venture, and has become a suitable ally only for confusion and sterility. Its stand on Vietnam confirms, not for the first time, that any American who seriously wants to contribute to his country's security and well-being and to oppose Communism will have to stay clear of the JBS. ■

Questions & Answers

5 Q. If the John Birch Society is ineffective, as you say, how do you account for the fact that it is attacked in the Communist press more frequently than any other anti-Communist organization?

A. Because it exposes itself to attack by its exaggerated and ludicrous positions. The Communists are always attacking several kinds of enemies. They attack those who do them great damage (*e.g.*, Franco during the Spanish Civil War); but also those who do them very little, or even no damage at all, but whose behavior tends to discredit the anti-Communist position. Their motives are obvious: by suggesting that a highly vulnerable anti-Communist organization represents the cause of anti-Communism, the cause, and prestige, of anti-Communism is weakened. The Communist press, for instance, is constantly attacking George Lincoln Rockwell: who is, net, an asset to the Communist cause.

Q. How can it possibly damage the anti-Communist movement to do the kind of thing most members of the John Birch Society are mostly doing: promoting literature, showing anti-Communist films—that kind of thing?

A. It depends. It depends on what literature is disseminated, for instance. If the literature is such as to promote the misunderstandings of Mr. Welch, then it is far better that it were never distributed in the first place. Even if the literature has no direct connection with Mr. Welch, the dissemination of it, in certain contexts, can do damage. For instance, it is helpful to read reports issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning efforts the Communists have made to infiltrate government agencies. But if read in context of a belief that the government is in Communist hands—that it is 60-80 per cent influenced by Communists—then the material of the House Committee serves to inflame, rather than inform; has the effect a glass of beer will have on an alcoholic.

Q. Don't you believe that conservatives oughtn't to quarrel with one another? Do Liberals quarrel with one another?

A. As a matter of fact, they often do. Hubert Humphrey forced a resolution on the Democratic National Convention in 1948 which caused a walkout of the Southerners. Even so, the Democrats won the election. And, in due course, Hubert Humphrey, by his stand on civil rights, greatly strengthened the Democratic Party (never mind that we conservatives are sorry that he succeeded). Liberals fought with one another constantly over the question of how to deal with Communists and fellow travelers. The Liberal Party of New York, which is so greatly influential, spun away from the Communist-infiltrated American Labor Party, and the power of the Liberal-Left in New York subsequently increased. The ultimate responsibility of conservatives who really mean business is to maximize their influence; and if their influence is being diminished by the repeated recklessness of an individual or organization, they must, in the interest not merely of the integrity of their position but of the success of their movement, be prepared to criticize their fellow conservative.

Q. Robert Welch doesn't attack the NATIONAL REVIEW, why should you attack Robert Welch—or the John Birch Society?

A. If Robert Welch thought that NATIONAL REVIEW was damaging the conservative movement, he *should* attack us.

Q. Where can a member of the John Birch Society go to conduct anti-Communist activity in concert with other patriotic members of his community?

A. There is no organization presently constituted to undertake exactly the same set of activities as the John Birch Society undertakes: which is not to say that the John Birch Society is better than nothing. It is—for reasons shown—worse than nothing. However, the American Conservative Union, the Free Society Association, are new organizations free of Mr. Welch's fantasies, which seek to grow, and provide service, and coordination. Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade has done effective and courageous work. And there are any number of anti-Communist and anti-socialist organizations devoted to specific objectives in foreign and domestic policy.

Q. How do you account for the fact that The Politician was never reviewed, not by a single newspaper or magazine in the country?

A. How do *you* account for it? It was not reviewed by a single newspaper in the country either a) because not a single newspaper or magazine in the country has the courage to review a bold anti-Communist book—not the *Chicago Tribune*, not *Human Events*, not the *Manchester Union-Leader*, not NATIONAL REVIEW, not the *Richmond News-Leader*, not the *Indianapolis News*—or b) because not a single newspaper or magazine in this country believes the thesis (that Eisenhower—The Politician—was a Communist) worth even considering. ➔

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Q. Welch didn't actually say Eisenhower was a Communist.
A. Yes, he did. ("[It is] my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy . . . based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt.")

Q. You quote, but do not refute, the statements in American Opinion.
A. Every issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, from cover to cover, is in a sense a "refutation" of the views of Mr. Welch. Because every issue seeks to show not only how it is that such mistakes as are made by our leaders and opinion-makers play into the enemy's hands, but wherein their reasoning errs, and what are the root psychological, political, and sociological presuppositions that guide them. James Burnham's book, *Suicide of the West,* is a book-length treatment of the subject. It is impossible to hope to reason with the Liberals in such a way as to demonstrate the nature of their mistakes, and the shortcomings of their analyses, if we begin with a premise they themselves know to be mistaken, namely that they are actively working for a Soviet world.

Q. Isn't there a good deal of arrogance in your position? How do you know you are right in rejecting Mr. Welch's universal conspiracy doctrine?
A. We do not think it arrogant to accept the evidence of our own experience. There are many people we went to school with, people who have been our colleagues on college faculties, friends and acquaintances of ours who are newspapermen, priests, merchants, bankers, intellectuals and non-intellectuals, who favor domestic policies that we criticize as leading toward socialism, and global measures that we judge may help Communism rather than, as they contend, enable us to avoid a third World War. We can hardly believe, as Mr. Welch's doctrine would require, that all of these people are carefully trained Communist hypocrites.

It is Mr. Welch, clinging to his bizarre ideas, in face of the unanimous opinion of responsible and experienced conservative spokesmen, who is arrogant—less unsparing of those who disagree with him. Sample: "And we have seen on every side, in a hundred different manifestations, the unceasing efforts of our government to carry out all programs and take all steps required to bring about the merger of the United States with Soviet Russia and all of its satellites into a one-world socialist government. These are the plain facts . . . incontrovertibly clear to anybody who will use the eyes, the intelligence, and the common sense God gave him."

Q. Are you trying to say that the John Birch Society, as headed by Mr. Robert Welch, is a grave liability to the conservative and anti-Communist cause?
A. Yes. ■

Commentary

I found your columns on Robert Welch interesting, but disturbing. Interesting because they gave me information on Mr. Welch I had not seen before, and disturbing because a man with such ideas could gain such a following in the United States.

Arthur W. Radford
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Ret.

How can we successfully prosecute the fight against the erosion of our constitutional rights and freedoms, if those who, like you, have continually contributed a full measure of dedication to this principle, are lashed viciously by adherents to the philosophy that only they can be correct in 100 answers to 100 questions.

Those who follow any person without question place blinders upon reason. Only honest and reasonable individuals who will admit when they are wrong can command sufficient respect to turn this strong tide of socialism and return our country to true constitutional government. The opinions of a man or a woman are valid only when concluded without duress or false information or false worship.

Joseph C. Shell
Los Angeles, Cal.

Nothing could do more to discredit all conservatives than the violent language and unreal views regularly found in *American Opinion.* As several conservatively-inclined gentlemen have remarked to me, were it not that they feared they might fall victim to the conspiratorial obsession of Robert Welch, they would be sorely tempted to believe that the leaders of the Birch Society are agents of the Kremlin, subtly working to discredit all opposition to Communism by reducing anti-Communism to absurdity.

All Americans of a conservative bent should be warned against associating themselves with an organization which is totally ineffectual in resisting Communism and socialism, but which enables collectivist and doctrinaire Liberals to tar all friends of tradition with the brush of Birchery.

Russell Kirk

In its thoughts about the John Birch Society, the American public tends to react in either black or white. Seldom are shades of gray permitted in the debate. Mr. Buckley has attempted to deal in the in-between gray area. He has raised a serious and responsible question about how many members of the John Birch Society adhere to the positions of some of the Society's leaders and publications.

As a conservative, I welcome responsible inquiry; the essence of conservatism is support for individual rights and beliefs. Responsible conservatism welcomes questions and respects their value in getting to the root of problems.

Mr. Buckley's columns graphically illustrate the gulf between responsible conservatism and unreasoning radicalism. I hope the columns' message will be deeply pondered by all Americans.

John G. Tower
U.S. Senate

I have followed your articles on the Birch Society with great interest and I find myself in agreement with your

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general thesis as it has been the argument I have used ever since the attacks on the organization started.

I have, on several occasions, suggested that if the present leadership of this Society were to, in the best interests of the Society, withdraw and have the group select new leaders, a great deal of their trouble would disappear.

I do not doubt for one moment that in the Birch Society as well as any organization, regardless of its nature, you will find varying differences of opinion with some who are either extremely far in one direction or the other but in this case, this problem has multiplied by having a leader whose statements have generally been wrong, ill-advised and, at times, ill-tempered.

I don't for one moment agree with some Republican leaders that this organization is about to take over the Republican Party, but I do believe that the type of people generally who I know as members of the group, could add effective weight and work to the Republican Party if they cared to, but they should resign from the Society, since Mr. Welch has declined to do so.

I hope that you will keep up what I consider to be reasonable discussions of the Birch Society to the end that some good will come of it.

Barry Goldwater

Court Upholds Recent Civil Rights Law

CARL A. HORNE

Yesterday the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, sitting in New York City, handed down the first court decision involving Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1983. Titles I and II, the more controversial sections of the Act, were not involved in this decision.

Title III is the section of the 1983 Civil Rights Bill which places an interdiction on all residential neighborhoods which are not racially mixed in acceptable proportions. An acceptable neighborhood under the law is one in which the white inhabitants constitute between 60 per cent and 70 per cent of the total, and the Negro inhabitants constitute between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of the total number of inhabitants. Briefly, the law prohibits the sale of private, single-family dwellings in unmixed neighborhoods except to purchasers of that race which is "out-of-proportion." Furthermore, if a member of the "out-of-proportion" race desires a particular house in a particular neighborhood, the owner cannot refuse an offer to buy if he is a member of the opposite race and if the offer is within the price range established for that neighborhood by the Bureau of Private Dwellings of the Civil Rights Commission. Thus, if a neighborhood is 71 per cent white and 29 per cent Negro, a white home owner is prohibited from selling his house to anyone other than a Negro. On the other hand, a Negro desiring a home in that neighborhood can offer to purchase any house owned by a white person, and the owner cannot refuse to sell if the price meets the minimum price of the Bureau of Private Dwellings. Of course, Title III applies with equal force to predominantly Negro neighborhoods, and spokesmen for a number of right-wing extremist groups such as the Americans for Democratic Action are suggesting that Title III is directly responsible for the virtual disappearance of a real estate market in predominantly Negro residential areas.

In *Jones* v. *Novak* the U.S. District Court in New York City has ordered the defendant, a white person, to convey his home in Manhattan to the plaintiff, a Negro, at the Bureau of Private Dwellings price. Mr. Novak, the defendant, had refused Mr. Jones' offer to buy because he did not want to move out of the neighborhood, which he claims to be within walking distance of the factory where he is assigned, and because he felt that the offered price did not take into account extensive and costly improvements which he had personally installed in the house.

The District Court decided that Title III is constitutional because it is a valid exercise of Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce. The Court's decision on this point rests heavily on its finding as a fact that many of the building materials used in Mr. Novak's house originated in states other than New York. The Court also decided that the defendant had no right under the law to question the definition of a neighborhood promulgated by the Bureau of Private Dwellings. "Congress wished to make the Bureau's determinations in this regard conclusive, and it was within its power to do so," said the Court.

Mr. Novak came closest to winning the case on his protest that the price set by the Bureau of Private Dwellings does not adequately compensate him for his house. The Court said on this point: "The defendant claims the Bureau's price is non-compensatory as applied to his house, and indeed, the Court is satisfied that the Bureau's price is below the current market value of the house (in an assumed open market) and even below the defendant's capital investment, but the fact remains that the defendant did not prove, as the statute requires, that the costly improvements added to the house while the defendant was living there were not added as a device to raise its value beyond the means of the disadvantaged buyer whom the statute was intended to protect." Mr. Novak is not expected to appeal the decision.

Civil Rights leaders around the nation have expressed satisfaction with the outcome of this first case under the 1983 law. A spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said that its leaders are planning further moves to test the law in other areas of the country, but he denied that there has been any discussion of a move to test the law against the United States Government by making an offer to buy the White House.

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It's What's Happening, Baby

What's it like to work in a Job Corps camp? The author, a former camp official, gives a graphic picture of the problems, most of which boil down to poor discipline

DON E. COPE

"Spoil these boys—they have never been spoiled before."

That was the statement of the director of orientation to a group of newly-hired "resident advisers" (RAs) at the Camp Atterbury Job Corps Center near Columbus, Indiana this July. I was one of six men taken on that month to help deal with several hundred youthful "corpsmen" gathered from across the nation to participate in the Johnson Administration's "war on poverty." The director's words summed up, all too exactly, the prevailing view at Atterbury.

For a month after this session, I was involved in one of the strangest episodes in the history of American welfarism. At the beginning of this period, Camp Atterbury had about 450 enrollees and *more than* 450 employees. Out of this total, fewer than 70 employees worked directly with the corpsmen—meaning upwards of 380 people were engaged in "administering" a program being carried out by fewer than 70.

The job of the resident adviser, living in the barracks with more than 100 corpsmen, was hard enough under the circumstances. But it was rendered almost impossible by the "spoil them" policy instituted by the men at the top. Discipline at the center, containing hundreds of boys who had dropped out of school and scores who had been in some kind of trouble, was almost nonexistent. The results were exactly what might have been expected.

Sodomy Count Dismissed

The public got its first inkling of what was going on at the Atterbury encampment when seven of the corpsmen were arrested for committing sodomy against a fellow enrollee. Incredibly enough, the charges on this count were dismissed; five of the boys were returned to their homes and two others were allowed to re-enter the program at Atterbury. The director of counseling explained away the incident as attributable to "challenged manhood," and described the boys as the kind "we should be trying to reach in the program — aggressive, hostile but savable."

While this was the most sensational episode, it was far from being the only one. Thievery was rampant and *corpsmen did not dare leave anything* of value unguarded. Many of the more law-abiding corpsmen were in constant fear for their personal safety. Bullies and gangs were well-organized, and fights were a normal everyday occurrence. Firecrackers were exploded in the barracks causing fear among staff members that corpsmen might be seriously injured.

H. C. Brown, a reporter for the *Indianapolis News,* summarized some of the difficulties as follows: "Gangs were organized. Fights between corpsmen, although lacking racial overtones, were frequent. Smaller, weaker corpsmen became the targets of ruffians who operated protection rackets. Nonmembers were required to pay a dollar a month for protection or face gruesome penalties. One report said corpsmen who couldn't pay protection were either beaten or sexually assaulted. The assaults sometimes took the form of gang rapes."

All of this was well known to everyone at Atterbury. Top-level officials, however, attempted to hush up such incidents or to pass off those which filtered out to the public as isolated matters. When local newspapers reported some of these episodes, a national Job Corps official blamed Atterbury's bad "image" on the "hostility" of Indiana citizens, saying the misbehavior of corpsmen was traceable to their feeling of "rejection" when they visited surrounding communities.

I can testify from personal experience that this was simply a feeble attempt to pass the buck. The Job Corps had assembled a mixed group of youngsters, some of whom wanted to be helped, some incorrigibles terrorizing the others and causing trouble outside the center. All of these boys were mixed together without adequate planning, without arrangements for full and effective supervision, and, most important, without *any realistic measures to enforce discipline.*

Vocational Courses Ineffective

The boys came, typically, from impoverished backgrounds. Many of them had little or no effective schooling of any sort, although they were supposed to be equipped with basic elementary school education sufficient to get them through a high-school equivalence test. Ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-one (some were in fact twenty-two), they were scheduled to receive training in five areas of vocational guidance: heating and air conditioning, food services, electrical repair, building maintenance, and auto mechanics. Unfortunately, none of the vocational courses was set up to operate effectively while I was there.

The corpsmen divided by and large into two groups: Negroes from large metropolitan areas, principally Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, and some Negro youngsters from the Deep South; and young white farm hands from the border states. The two groups did not mix well, to put it mildly, and several altercations at the camp broke out along these lines of division—for example, a dispute over whether a barracks should listen to rock'n'roll or hillbilly music. Among my charges was one young man who had been a pimp in Youngstown,

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Ohio, and who wanted job training as a front for his activities; another who was on probation for assault and battery and chose the Job Corps over going to jail; and yet another who had quit a low-paying job because he preferred the presumably easier life at the Job Corps.

Many of the corpsmen were brought to Atterbury by "bounty-hunters"—recruiters paid eighty dollars a head to round up enrollees for the program. To swell their take-home pay, these recruiters would tell prospective corpsmen fantastic stories of a Big Rock Candy Mountain life at Atterbury, in which they would live in comfort while being trained to operate IBM computers and other advanced equipment. As noted, no such training was available. In an effort to conform to Sargent Shriver's edict to "have 10,000 boys in bed by May 1," enrollees had been recruited haphazardly, so that most of them simply sat around waiting for something to do. This created an atmosphere of restlessness which contributed to the disciplinary problem.

As a result of fear, boredom and general discontent, boys left the center in droves. As of April 28, there were 633 boys at Atterbury; at the end of August, there were around 345. Boys went AWOL (a euphemism there for leaving altogether) by the dozens almost every night, a sure sign the place was in virtual chaos. Yet if these runaways could be found and brought back, no penalties were imposed. This meant that the granting or withholding of passes, which might have been an effective disciplinary tool, was meaningless, since the boys could in fact come and go as they pleased.

Despite all this, documented not only by personal observation but by numerous reports in Indiana newspapers, Job Corps officials persisted in denying there was any serious disciplinary problem at Atterbury. The coddling of troublemakers went on as before. The only change was a concerted effort to improve the Atterbury "image" by taking newsmen on guided tours of the center and having them interview some of the better boys. Center Director James Bryner sent out one directive urging publicity for a boy who had "earned" a week-end pass as a suggested counterweight to stories about the sodomy case. For some reason, local newspapers did not consider the two events equally newsworthy.

That discipline problems were serious and continuing can be judged quite easily by reading the various directives sent out by Bryner and other officials, a fat sheaf of which I have in my possession. One directive, for example, forbids shaving with straight razors, a favorite weapon of some of the corpsmen during intramural disagreements. Another directive notes that women employed at the Center should not move from place to place without an escort. As for the over-all standards of discipline, one communiqué from Dr. Bryner rejoiced that at one point only 20 per cent of the enrollees were failing to go to class sessions and other scheduled activities, although all of these things are supposed to be mandatory.

'Permissiveness' the Problem

When the newspaper publicity got bad enough, the top officials tried to clean things up by shipping the worst of the troublemakers to other centers —lateralling the problem to someone else rather than attempting to solve it. At no point did they admit their own "permissive" policies were at the root of the problem—a fact which any resident adviser could have made clear to them if they had cared to ask.

There were one hundred and twenty boys in my barracks, most of whom could contribute to society with proper training, some of whom were simply troublemakers. Having previously served as a teacher, probation officer and a counselor to young people, I felt the best way to deal with these boys was to show them I meant to be fair, but would accept no nonsense. If someone got out of line, he could expect to be dealt with accordingly. Those who behaved as decent citizens would be treated fairly.

Unfortunately, this proposition could be conveyed to the boys only as a broad, general hint, since the advisers had almost no sanctions to back them up. If an adviser found a corpsmen engaged in illicit activity, there was nothing he could do about it except the following (verbatim quotes from our written instructions): "Courteously but firmly direct the corpsman's attention to the deviant behavior and suggest remedial action; if the corpsman fails to act upon constructive suggestion, request ID card of the corpsman; write a brief report of the incident and forward same to the guidance director; if the corpsman refuses to surrender ID card for the purpose of indentification for the incident report, attempt to secure identification from bystanders." ➔

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It takes no hardened leader of men to see this procedure is a poor remedy for acts of mayhem or vandalism. As a result, precisely such acts occurred repeatedly, as top officials turned down a request by a committee of resident advisers for a set of graduated penalties for designated offenses. Small wonder local law enforcement officers charged the Job Corps Center was "a monster" which officials couldn't control. One boy, who finally left the center in despair, told me his life at Atterbury was "a man-made hell."

Despite the official "spoil 'em" policy, some of the advisers, refusing to be intimidated, were able to keep a semblance of order. But when the heat got too intense for the officials up top, it was precisely these advisers, myself among them, who were picked out as scapegoats. Along with eight other advisers, I found myself discharged without notice, without prior complaint and without specified cause a month after I had been hired. The reason, according to Center Director Bryner, was that the nine of us were either "too permissive" or "too rigid" in our dealings with the boys and therefore unable to maintain discipline. In issuing this statement, Bryner said discipline was being enforced, that boys who got out of line could be threatened with discharge from the Corps.

That assertion was completely false. I have in my possession a communiqué from Job Corps headquarters in Washington, initialed by Bryner himself shortly before this dispute broke out, which says: "No dismissals from Job Corps can be made by centers without getting prior approval from Job Corps headquarters. . . . *Under no circumstances, explicit or implicit, should a resignation be asked for or the opportunity to resign offered.*" (*Emphasis in original.*) After this issue was ventilated in the Indiana press, Bryner acknowledged to two visiting congressmen that corpsmen could not, in fact, be dismissed from the program.

Resident advisers and counselors were powerless to enforce discipline because the reigning policy in Job Corps headquarters in Washington was in favor of "permissiveness." Apparently Sargent Shriver and his fellow fighters believed the way to deal with case-hardened young toughs is to "understand" them and identify with them. The result was catastrophe.

As for the merits of the charges against myself and the other advisers, I can only note that, however good or bad the job I did, it could hardly have been responsible for Atterbury's troubles, which existed long before I got there and continued after I departed. And although I had my full share of problems I believe I was able to get through to some of the boys. The *Indianapolis News* reported shortly after my dismissal that the boys in barracks were conducting a petition drive to have me and the other resident advisers brought back to Atterbury.

Strictness Penalized

The *News* also interviewed others of the discharged RAs, whose observations were similar to my own. Ed Smallwood, a former Little All-American basketball player from Evansville College, said: "There was no threat we could use or anything we could do, except pass information to higher authorities." The *News* said Smallwood believes he was discharged because he tried to be strict with the corpsmen. Bill Woods, of Indianapolis, another RA fired by Bryner, said: "Bryner is seldom around. He doesn't know the problems faced by the RAs." Still another RA is quoted, in another story, as saying: "We can't even make a corpsman cut grass or assign him to washing pots and pans for misbehavior. These kids do exactly what they want to do, and nothing more."

The key difficulty was, and is, on the evidence of news stories still emanating from the Job Corps (for example, a riot at a raceway in Indianapolis involving 25 corpsmen), lack of discipline. The disciplinary steps suggested by the committee of advisers still provide the nucleus for necessary reforms. Some useful suggestions include: give advisers authority to threaten corpsmen with denial of passes and with discharge from the program if necessary; allow the corpsmen to do necessary work in the maintenance of the Center; set up a security force with real authority to crack down on such things as illegal use of alcohol; and allow resident advisers to discipline corpsmen by giving them K.P. and other such assignments for lesser offenses.

The problems at Atterbury are just what should have been anticipated from the official effort to smother tough youngsters with loving kindness, and to prevent those in direct contact with them from taking normal disciplinary measures. Many of the kids in the Job Corps are worthy of help; but as long as Liberal ideology takes precedence over fact, Sargent Shriver's program will not be able to provide them with it.

General Wessin y Wessin in Exile

Don't censure the State Department,
Don't say it is weak by design.
Don't say it is prone to appeasement,
When in truth it is really supine.

The Department of State is consistent,
For it follows the Liberal Line—
It's easy to bend over backwards,
When you haven't got much of a spine.

JOHN D. KIRWAN

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The Open Question

Catholics and Population: A Defense

GARRY WILLS

Among the many responses to Garry Wills' article "Catholics and Population" (NR, July 27) was L. Brent Bozell's "Mater sí, Magistra sí," published in this department September 7. In order that our Catholic readers may follow this exchange of views on one of the central issues before the Vatican Council, we extend the debate to allow Mr. Wills' reply.—Ed.

Mr. Bozell makes three points in answer to my article on "Catholics and Population."

First, he argues that *Casti Connubii* may, after all, have defined infallibly. It seems somewhat disingenuous of him (like quoting "it seems there is no God" as the position of St. Thomas) to give us John Noonan's question—If Pius XI had meant to define "what further language could he have used?"—without mentioning the two answers Noonan supplies on the same page. Pius VI could 1) have anathematized the contrary belief, which is the customary historical way of marking an obligation to believe, and or 2) have stated directly his intention to define—as Pius XII did when enunciating the dogma of the Assumption. There is no doubt about this latter teaching's status—and one can reasonably say, in the light of Vatican I's delimitation of the infallible power, that if subsequent enunciations leave any doubt about the Pope's intention to define, then one must presume that he did *not* do so (a point made by Newman and Bishop Fessler in their expositions of the Vatican I teaching). Further arguments could be added to Noonan's: 3) Although the language of *Casti Connubii* is indeed strong, it is strongest in terms of moral exhortation—for the Church to stand up against a stain of impurity, and noticeably lacking a declaration of what must be believed as a duty of orthodoxy, which is what is expressly enjoined in definition-anathematization (*e.g.*, Pius XII on the Assumption: "We pronounce, declare and *define* to be *divinely revealed dogma*"). And 4) Pius XII flatly said that his predecessors had not used the defining power in encyclicals (*Hum. Gen.* par. 20). Pius' testimony is more important than that of certain theologians of an older generation with extreme papalist leanings. Mr. Bozell cites the names of such theologians from Noonan—but he distorts his source when he makes, on no evidence, the assertion that "most other luminaries" have endorsed a merely technical variant of their view.

Pius Cautious on Rhythm

Mr. Bozell's second point is that restriction of intercourse to infertile periods does not fall under Pius' ban against "any use whatsoever of matrimony" that deliberately frustrates the act's generative capacity "by human effort," since the act does not have any generative capacity during infertile periods. But the Church recognizes the overriding intention in marriage as capable of frustrating the end of the marriage act (cf. Pius XII's condemnation of rhythm used for selfish purposes); indeed, as capable of entirely invalidating a marriage (if one partner had the intention of using rhythm to block all conception). The fact that the means used to circumvent the act's effect is "merely" temporal does not affect the duty of having procreation as one's marriage-intention with regard to the act.

"Merely temporal" circumstances radically alter the morality of human acts—*e.g.*, in the intercourse of two partners on the day before and the day after their marriage, the act is physically the same but morally very different. Pius XII obviously thought that rhythm frustrated the generative capacity of the act. In his famous address on rhythm, he first contrasted it with practices that do *not* frustrate fertility, and then described rhythm as a suspension of "the *positive* and obligatory *carrying out of the act*" so that one "avoid(s) habitually the fecundity of the union." The act's "positive fulfillment may be omitted" for good reasons, as Pius recognized in his allocution; but his entire language for describing rhythm shows that, when it is used, the procreative end of marriage has been frustrated from its "positive carrying out" into generative consequence.

Third, Mr. Bozell argues, against my contention that the college of bishops did not define infallibly in this matter, that pastoral letters were issued in various countries. But 1) the Belgian episcopate of 1909 was not the whole college—nor were the other national bodies at the time they wrote. Nor 2) was the conception of collegial teaching consciously adhered to during the papalist atmosphere of the last century—yet an infallible teacher must *intend* to define. And 3) these pastoral letters are even more clearly made obsolete than *Casti Connubii* by Pius XII's approval of rhythm. The German letter says it is "serious sin to will to prevent *the increase of the number of children*. . . It is serious sin, very serious sin, *with whatever means and in whatever way it occurs*." The French letter condemned any attempt to "teach or encourage the restriction of birth." The American letter said births could never be limited for "pretended economic or domestic advantage." Every one of these teachings is expressly refuted in Pius XII's allocution. There is indeed a harmony between the pastorals Mr. Bozell relies on for establishing the Church (sic) teaching and the encyclical *Casti Connubii*, which said the aim of marriage is to give the Christian people "daily increase." Most of the pastoral letters were written, like the encyclical itself, at the prompting of Arthur Vermeersch. But this harmony does not prove Mr. Bozell's point—that the pastorals are, like the encyclical, infallible. Rather, it suggests that the encyclical is, like the pastorals, obsolete at certain points—as obsolete as the *Syllabus of Errors*.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Balaam's Ass in the Seminary

Demonstrations, teach-ins, and similar recent antics on the campus have been called "the revolt of the graduate student." To assume that all students in graduate and professional schools are gentlemen of the Left would be a sad error, nevertheless. No small part in the graduate-students' protest against present academic dominations and powers come from strong-willed and intelligent students who are disgusted with the ritualistic Liberalism, dullness and muddy sentimentality of many administrators and professors.

Kirk

One able champion of religious orthodoxy and political conservatism is Dr. Robert L. Cleath, a student in San Francisco Theological Seminary (Presbyterian) until he graduated as a bachelor of divinity at the end of May. At San Francisco Theological, Dr. Cleath (a doctor of philosophy and a college instructor before he began to study for the ministry) stirred up a considerable fuss, noticed in California newspapers, by presuming to differ with the avant garde moral and theological doctrines enunciated by Dr. Theodore Gill (president of SFT) and the dominant clique in the faculty.

The Non-Asinine Ass

Signing himself "Balaam's Ass," Dr. Cleath wrote a series of short articles demolishing the lunatic-fringe theological Liberalism of SFT. His weapon was wit; and he wounded very badly the powers that be, who clearly congratulated themselves on their toleration in letting Dr. Cleath survive at all. (In the Book of Numbers, you will recall, Balaam menaces his ass with death by the sword, because that beast—perceiving an angel of the Lord—has balked at the path Balaam means to make him follow.)

Just why the voice of this Ass brayed so unpleasantly in the ears of Dr. Gill and his colleagues may be gathered from the following remarks by Dr. Cleath, which he entitles "The Word about Words for Neophyte Ministers." Here he advises his fellows newly called to the pulpit concerning the sort of language they must use, if they are to obtain preferment in a Liberal-dominated church.

> Words to be intentionally emphasized, due to their inherent power understood by everyone: encounter, dialogue, ecumenical, eschaton, apocalyptic, community, reconciliation, relevant, culture, anthropomorphic, *Geschichte,* mission (not to be confused with foreign missions or missionaries), fraternal worker, existential, social concern, psychologize, estrangement, finiteness.
>
> Words never to be uttered, since they are confusing or lead to erroneous impressions: saved, blood, heaven, hell, Satan, devil, demon, vicarious, wrath of God, ascension, salvation, virgin birth, bodily resurrection, revival, decision, second coming.
>
> Words to be used with extreme caution: righteousness, judgment, revelation, justification, myth, Liberal, conservative, neo-orthodox, cross, Word of God, redemption.
>
> Words that are Barf (If you have to ask what that means, man, you'll never know!): gravy train, chicken, hip, wox, sex, Jack Robinson, rub, yes! (uttered with a sign while kneeling), and other inscrutable slang that the church has going for it.
>
> *Warning*: Any San Francisco Theological College product who violates the above principles and thereby ceases to be relevant will be lashed forty times, save one, with a wet adjective.

Feeling kicked rather than lectured by this lively Ass, the reverend administrators of SFT deviated considerably from the Christian doctrine of turning the other cheek. (There are few doctrines, indeed, from which these theologians have not deviated.) Dr. Come, dean of faculty, described Dr. Cleath's writings in student publications and on the bulletin board as "trying to undercut the administration and the faculty with a rather deliberate and sort of nasty attack." President Gill did not condescend to reply to any of Dr. Cleath's criticisms, but expressed his sorrow at "the spirit rather than the content" of such rebellion. Doubtless Balaam felt much as Dr. Gill feels.

Dr. Cleath was not the only theological student vexed by the fashionable sham-theology and sham-morals which have become the law and all the prophets at SFT. His principal ally was a full-fledged doctor of medicine who, like Dr. Cleath, had left his learned profession to become a clergyman. Administrators suffer discomfort when they have to contend with such students as these.

The general tenor of entrenched opinion at SFT is sufficiently suggested by a student publication, *Challenge 65,* which deigned to publish Dr. Cleath's vaticinations, but which consisted principally of as wondrously frantic a theological, moral and political Liberalism as ever this writer has been tickled by. Three poems, for instance, describe St. Paul as an organization-man and opportunist, the Virgin Mary as a dull wench who went to bed with Joseph or some other man before marriage, and Judas as the most loving and heroic disciple of Jesus. One encounters also a lengthy defense of sodomy by one Donald S. Lucas, who argues that the opponents of homosexuality are latent pathics themselves, dreading seduction.

How very rude of Balaam's Ass to find anything objectionable in these progressive, experimental, Liberal, new-Christian views! What a remarkably nasty man Dr. Cleath must be, not to feel comfortable in this climate of opinion!

Balaam had the power of cursing and of blessing, except when Jehovah intervened, and made Balaam say what the Lord willed. It may require a number of graduate-student Asses to remind our academic Balaams that many false spirits are gone forth into the world, and that in the latter days there shall come mockers and blasphemers—a good many of these, it appears, in professorial chairs.

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The Virtues of the Market

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

"In his great book, *The Golden Bough*, Sir James Frazer speaks of an Australian aboriginal tribe which believes that the rising and setting of the sun are controlled magically by their own medicine man. They imagine that sunset can be delayed by fixing a clod of earth in the fork of a tree and that it is necessary, if the sun is to rise, that a fire or light should be kindled during the hours of darkness on behalf of the tribe." Mr. Enoch Powell maintains that the British government's attempts—indeed any government's attempts—to control the movement of the economy by budgetary and monetary manipulation are about as effective as the medicine man's candle: and he puts into the same category the trade unions' clamorous incantations over wage levels.

"Contrary to popular belief," he says, "there is no reason whatever to suppose that the remuneration of labour in general has been raised by the combination of labour through the trade unions to a higher level than it would have stood otherwise. . . . No doubt in individual occupations combination has from time to time succeeded in raising real wages above what they would have been in its absence; but any such gain, which is invariably at the expense of workers in other employments and of the general public, is always temporary and usually brief." Through local wage deals, and after another bout of inflation, the pattern of supply and demand reasserts itself. The function of the union leaders has been purely ceremonial: "to dramatise and personalise the abstract and impersonal forces by which man's life is governed, and create the comfortable illusion that they can be manipulated."

A Nation Not Afraid, by Enoch Powell. British Book Centre, $6.75

But the ceremonies, unfortunately, produce real effects, though not the ones intended. "If the 'twopenny candle on earth' does not cause the sun to rise in the heavens, still if we are not careful with it, it can set fire to the little hut and burn it down." Innumerable innocent people will suffer—in Britain they certainly have suffered—from the tax policies and inflation which are an essential part and an inevitable consequence of the ceremonies.

Mr. Powell's skepticism has been for the past thirty years, and is still, highly unfashionable, and is liable to be unpopular both with the credulous tribe and with the medicine men themselves. If his views were accepted, a lot of people's occupations and preoccupations would be gone. He seems to me the most interesting and significant, though not yet by any means the most influential, man in contemporary British politics. Before the war, he was a Professor of Greek: during the war, he became a brigadier: since the war, he has been a whole-time Conservative politician. In 1958 he resigned from Mr. Macmillan's administration because his colleagues refused to hold down the level of government spending. In 1963 he declined, for complicated reasons, to serve under Sir Alec Douglas-Home. But old quarrels have now been made up. He is back in the "Shadow Cabinet" and a figure to be reckoned with.

A Nation Not Afraid is an anthology of his speeches, grouped, cut, spliced together, and given linking passages, by John Wood, an economist who admires him. The job has been well done; it makes a readable and integrated book.

Quite properly, there is a good deal in it about inflation. "One has to go back many generations," Mr. Powell says, "to find a period when the problem of the value of money has engaged public attention so much as today . . . Governments, by sins of omission and commission, can and do defraud their subjects no less really than the princes and republics of old who debased or clipped the coinage." Modern governments have "delusions of grandeur" about their ability to regulate the economy, and, while pursuing this will-o'-the-wisp, neglect their real duty "to preserve the honesty and validity of the nation's money."

In many fields, however, what governments need is "the courage to do nothing and let things happen, the courage to stop interfering." Mr. Powell's central belief is in the virtues of the market, of a multiplicity of free decisions made by innumerable individuals; compared with this vast human computer, the directive efforts of any set of politicians or economists or officials must seem insensitive and puny.

He ruthlessly dissects a whole clutch of related fallacies. He maintains, for example, that "the unholy alliance" of town planning and "those two evil giants, rent control and housing subsidy," has inflicted "incalculable hardship and squalor, by destroying the mechanism of supply and demand which would otherwise have met the need for housing, as it has met all other physical needs, at an ever-rising standard." He tries to calm the hysteria about growth-rates by explaining that the relative share of world trade enjoyed by Britain, the United States and France was bound to decline. He inveighs against accepting a "mixed economy," part state-controlled, part free, as though this were an inescapable natural

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phenomenon like the British weather.

Planning is anathema to him, especially regional planning on the TVA model; he regards the whole process as self-defeating (it can never keep pace with the real requirements of the market), tyrannical (it means compelling or bribing people to stop doing what they would otherwise do and instead to follow a pattern prescribed by officials), and entailing a disastrous distortion or freezing of the economy as a whole.

He then goes on to attack sacred cows of still higher sanctity—the desirability, for example, of collective bargaining between "responsible" trade union leaders and "cooperative" employers, a combination which amounts, in his opinion, to a price-fixing conspiracy for labor directed against the rest of the community. The pursuit of an "incomes policy" he utterly rejects; it is as "foredoomed to futility as filling a sieve or making a rope of sand." And the Conservative Party, he believes, should say so. The last Conservative government was itself wedded to this illusory pursuit, and the party is not yet ready to abandon it openly. But the lessons of the past year, illumined by Mr. Powell's unsparing criticism, are having an effect. A good many Conservatives, particularly the younger ones, now agree with him.

There has to be, and I think there will be, a pulling away from the collectivist policies which, blindly or cynically espoused by recent Tory administrations, are bearing full and bitter fruit under Mr. Wilson's regime. The process of recantation is painful. It has been said—not untruly, though he denies it—that even Mr. Powell, when he was Minister of Health, behaved like a Socialist. He justified himself to me by saying that, as a practical politician, one had to join a government some time even if its policies weren't ideal. Occasionally in this volume, like lumps of suet in an otherwise invigorating broth, there are reminders that most of his speeches were delivered from a party platform.

Without a blush he talks about "our" (that is, the Tory government's) "determined and increasingly successful effort" to stabilize the value of money: "in taxation policy," he claims, "we have aimed at leaving to the individual earner and the individual firm the free disposal of as large a proportion as possible of their income or profits." Fine words, but scarcely compatible with the steady inflation and the unrelieved burden of progressive taxation which in fact prevailed during thirteen years of Tory rule.

Similarly, he praises the Health Service without qualification, as though socialized medicine were the only recourse for a civilized society (a view which I'm sure he does not hold): he urges the pharmaceutical industry to charge prices which will yield "a reasonable profit" rather than "the maximum that the traffic will bear" (a request quite inconsistent with his general position): and he says proudly that "millions of people have decided of their own free will to 'take out' a growing share of their larger income in terms of better education" (whereas he must know that the mass of electorate, in as far as they think of these things at all, believe that someone else is going to pay the bill).

Mr. Powell is not only a practical politician but an ambitious one. Unfortunately for his chances of the highest office, he conveys no atmosphere of warmth. He seems too intense, too earnest, and he commits the fearful solecism of carrying his ideas to their logical conclusion. But his

Random Notes

● Books Ahead: Among biographies and memoirs scheduled for the coming months are Constantine Fitzgibbon's *The Life of Dylan Thomas* (Little, Brown, October, $7.95); *The Eleanor Roosevelt Story* by (gasp!) Archibald MacLeish (Houghton, November, $7.50); a revisionist-type biography of Justice Taney, Walker Lewis' *Without Fear or Favor* (Houghton, October, $7.50); *Confessions of an Irish Rebel,* a self-proclamation by the late Mr. Behan (Geis, February, $4.95); and the memoirs of Michael Chaplin, Charlie's tatty son who grabbed all those fleeting headlines awhile back, called (cute!) *I Couldn't Smoke the Grass on My Father's Lawn* (Putnam, no date, no price, maybe they'll think better of it). . . . To Barbara Tuchman's *From a Dark Tower,* add two more reminders of the sunset years before August 1914; Robert A. Hart's *The Great White Fleet and* Geoffrey Marcus' *Before the Lamps Went Out,* a look at England on the eve; both from Little, Brown in October, at $6.95 and $7.50. . . . Oddments: Allan Eckert's *The Silent Sky,* about how we destroyed the passenger pigeon, is due from Little, Brown this month, at $4.95; *The Wedding Merchants,* by Bill Davidson, looks to be a Jessicaesque dissection of another American industry (Harper, next year); J. Paul Getty conducts a personal tour of his goodies in *The Joys of Collecting,* a $15 lavisher on Hawthorn's list for November.

● Noted: *The Great Discount Delusion,* a $4.50 volume, may be had of E. J. Korvette's for $3.69.

● Books into Movies: Dino DeLaurentiis has Luchino Visconti directing film of Camus' *The Stranger;* he also plans to do Mika Waltari's *The Dark Angel.* . . . Robert Cohn and Columbia have acquired Ernest K. Gann's *Of Good and Evil.* . . . Producer Charles Radnitz has three brewing: *The Leatherstocking Saga, Birch Interval* and a film of Darwin's *The Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle,* screenplay by Alan Moorehead. . . . Steinbeck's *Winter of Our Discontent* will be produced-directed for MGM by Frank Perry, with Mrs. P. handling the screenplay. The Perrys concocted *David and Lisa* . . . . Paul Newman has acquired and will no doubt star in Fletcher Knebel's *Night of Camp David* . . . . Last, but oh-so-far-from-least, P-D Albert Zugsmith plans a flick based on Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis.* Latin subtitles, and who will they get to play "Freda M., charwoman, 53, neurasthenic background"?

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personal disadvantages may prove advantageous to the country and to the Conservative Party, for he has performed a more valuable service out of office, and therefore unmuzzled. than he ever did as a cabinet minister unable either to speak his mind in public or materially to change the government's policies. Now he is making converts. Ideas which would have seemed unthinkable a year ago have become the currency of debate. He is admired not only by an increasing number of young Tory intellectuals, but even by some of the more intelligent Socialists, who regard him as a foeman worth respect.

AN ENEMY OF SOCIALISM HE certainis. He places it uncompromisingly in its proper context. "Socialism," he says, "is designed to prevent people getting their way, otherwise there would be no point in it." The Labor Party is "at heart totalitarian. . . . Whatever the other subjects of dispute between Khrushchev and Mao, or between Wilson and Ulbricht, on this they all unite, that the state ought to control and decide the future of the economy and of society." The choice British voters had to make at the last election, and which, let us hope, they will be invited to reconsider before very long, is not one that "grows old or stale or obsolete, nor is it peculiar or local to Britain. It is the same choice between a free society and a society in bondage which the whole of Western humanity is facing."

The Cretan Glance

GUY DAVENPORT

ON THE twelfth of November 1926, a Friday, in Herakleion in Crete, the seventeen-year-old Pandelis Prevelakis, just graduated from high school, knocked on a door above a dressmaker's shop. He had come to meet the greatest Greek writer of the twentieth century. Above the door was a death mask of Nietzsche; on the wall, a severe madonna by the icon painter Photis Kondoglou. The room was as bare as a saint's cell, and the tall Nikos Kazantzakis, part Arabic, part Cretan, a sensual ascetic who looked to Christ, Buddha, Lenin and Homer for his spiritual welfare, rose and welcomed the schoolboy who was to become his closest friend and the inheritor of his mastery of the novel. Kazantzakis was then forty-three, a lifetime of travel, study and action (e.g., the repatriation of the Russian Greeks during the Revolution) behind him, his monumental continuation of the Odyssey and all his novels before him.

Kazantzakis died in 1957, at seventy-four; Prevelakis, whose talents are as diverse as those of his master, is professor of the history of art at the National College of Fine Arts in Athens. Modern Greek literature is rich in every quality needed for a great literature, as rich as Russia in the nineteenth century or Ireland in the twentieth. And Ireland is a useful analogy, for the brilliance of modern Greek letters comes from Crete, that rebellious island which, like Ireland, has a fabulous, bottomless past, and has kept her identity through the worst calamities nature and man can inflict. Kazantzakis without Crete would be Joyce without Dublin. And just as any Dubliner will tell you that Joyce was a bounder, so the Cretans regularly empty their chamber pots on Kazantzakis' grave.

Between them Prevelakis and Kazantzakis have fabricated a vision of modern Greece as dramatic as Dostoievski's Russia. And like Dostoievski, they write as if from inside their novels, compelled, by a revelation of truth, to speak.

All of Kazantzakis' novels are Victorian in their tone and scope. The characters are brightly, impressively well-drawn. The plots move with a grand pace. All has body and weight. Yet each novel moves in a weather of myth. In an age of the anti-hero, Kazantzakis is alone in demanding that his protagonists be heroes; in an age that reflects the thorn-crowned and crucified Christ in its suffering and passive protagonists, Kazantzakis is alone in symbolizing the risen Christ in his heroes. They are therefore slightly larger than life and triumphant.

Zorba, the first of his heroes, is a doughty modern Greek in whose outlines we can discern the wily Odysseus. He belongs to Kazantzakis' youth, when Bergson and Nietzsche dominated his thought, and he was interested to make a saint whose holiness was in sheer will and energy. But, as he records in his autobiography, *Report to Greco,* Kazantzakis was not satisfied with a merely human excellence, and turned to St. Francis of Assisi. His biography of Francis is the finest protrait of a saint in modern letters, and the clearest rendering of a saint since Flaubert's of Anthony and Julian the Hospitaler. All of Kazantzakis' protagonists are saints, priests, or heroes in the Homeric manner, including Odysseus himself, for his masterpiece is a 33,333-line continuation of the Odyssey—a work far outside the accepted spirit of European letters. In Kimon Friar's English translation it has been attracting readers for a decade now and will probably be hailed as a masterpiece by the professors in 25 years.

RITUAL ATTENDS our appreciation of literature, and Greece is not a direction from which we have been conditioned to expect excellent *modern* writing. Nor is Kazantzakis cast in a mold easily classifiable. His last novel, *The Fratricides,* is a tragedy in which he dramatizes his unequivocal and bitter disillusionment with Communism. In one sense every book he wrote is a struggle to understand God, as was his life. He spent most of his young manhood in monasteries, trying, as he said, to see just how the material world can be transmuted into spirit. It was in one of these retreats that a friend and poet composed the *haiku* that appears in every book, like a trademark: "I said to the almond tree, 'Speak to me of God,' and

Report to Greco, by Nikos Kazantzakis. Simon & Schuster, $7.50

The Fratricides, by Nikos Kazantzakis. Simon & Schuster, $5

The Sun of Death, by Pandelis Prevelakis. Simon & Schuster, $4.50

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Speaking Up . . .

Dr. Thomas Molnar would like to share his impressions of Africa with you and your fellow club and college members. His reference is his very complete tour of Africa, and his material is now revealed in his latest book, *Africa: A Political Travelogue.*

Several of the following speakers have engagements on the West Coast and all, including Dr. Molnar, are available for additional engagements on the West Coast and around the country this season:

William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review* (will be in California early November); Ralph de Toledano, nationally syndicated columnist; Russell Kirk, author of *John Randolph of Roanoke,* William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of *National Review,* L. Brent Bozell, author of *The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion;* Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, lecturing on "The Coming Counterrevolution" and "States' Rights and the Christian Tradition"; Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of *National Review* and editor of the newly published *The African Nettle;* Dr. Anthony T. Bourscaren, writer, professor and author; and Ernest van den Haag, psychoanalyst, scholar and writer.

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the almond tree blossomed." He remained all of his life the child of Nietzsche, obsessed by suffering, a lonely man, uncompromisingly in search of wisdom in its nakedest form.

Crete is a naked country, all but treeless, defenseless, without shadows or nuances in its national character. The Turks held Crete in Kazantzakis' childhood; his father helped free it, and in Kazantzakis' lifetime a group of Cretan villagers faced a column of Panzer tanks, armed with pitchforks and butcher knives, and died exactly where they stood. Their monument is not far from the palace at Phaestos, the richest and gaudiest of prehistoric cities before the Dorian huns burned it. In the alarming clarity of his people's illiterate shrewdness Kazantzakis found what he called The Cretan Glance, the old Homeric searching look that assessed the spirit of a foe or plumbed the sincerity of a friend. So naked and canny an intelligence became his special study in mankind; it was the mark of the struggler, and the struggle was primarily with God, who pushes every man toward godliness and salvation. Man's terrified reluctance to be pushed is Kazantzakis' great theme; it is one of the greatest in modern letters.

PREVELAKIS is not an imitator of Kazantzakis; his Crete is more intimately rendered. His art is close to that of the novels of Luigi Pirandello and Elizabeth Gaskell, accurate in the tones of time and place. One may forget the plot of Pirandello's *The Outcast* but never the Sicilian afternoon light on a map in a classroom of a girls' school. In Prevelakis there is page after page of such tonal magic: Cretan women gossiping in a courtyard, village cafés, the harvests. Here is the narrator of *The Sun of Death,* a small boy, describing a poster in a coffee house:

> It showed a full-bosomed girl with languishing eyes and billowing hair. She had a cigarette in her mouth and her name was Cigarette Knossos. She had had it written on her belt. Nor was she shy about revealing where she lived: 13 Minos Street, Herakleion, Crete . . . Happy the man who set foot at her door!

The Sun of Death is a novel about what man cherishes and what he is beguiled by dead formulae to think he cherishes. As in *Huckleberry Finn,* a child's mind grows into an awareness of what contradictions seem to be irradicably permanent in the world. Cretan violence, a staple characteristic of the island's temper, is, like that of Sicily or New York, apt to seem inevitable at close range and stupid and petty from a distance. Prevelakis reports from in close, unfolding the terrible logic of his tragedy with understanding. And in the breadth of his understanding lies the goodness of his writing, which, like that of Kazantzakis', projects a whole and intelligible world. Almost all of Kazantzakis is now available in English; let us hope that the translators will be diligent with Prevelakis. These voices, so masculine and clear, are perfectly welcome in a country whose literature is becoming increasingly obscene and shrill.

Chunks of Existence

VINCENT MILLER

THIRTY YEARS AGO English professors wrote books in which they called attention to themselves "closely reading" (or talking about closely reading) "the works themselves." This was called "the new criticism": a system of dissection charts and procedures which they were working out to circumvent Pound and Eliot, who had accomplished a revolution by suggesting that the professor remove himself, his slogans, and his antics, and let the students read the authors.

The Modern Tradition, edited by Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson, Jr. Oxford, $13.75

Today the situation is different and the threat comes from another quarter. The most significant-popular writers of the postwar period have been Camus and Sartre. Both have argued vehemently for an end to ideology, "ideas," abstractions—and even professors. But both have had a philosophical bent. Taken advantage of, it leads us away from specific works of literature, even away from literature

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altogether. This, for the academic "professor," is an obvious gain. "There is reason to think"—Professors Ellmann and Feidelson tell us with pontifical and happy solemnity on page one of *The Modern Tradition*—"that the study of modern literature will increasingly become a study of the modern in general."

The book that results from this *aperçu* is an example of what might be called the professorial sublime—a huge mass of snippets from "original rather than second-hand" sources, each of which contains or illustrates the major slogan or slogans by which the author is to be summed up (Nietzche, "God is dead," "Superman"; Camus, "One must imagine Sisyphus happy"; Eliot, "dissociation of sensibility," "objective correlative"; Buber, the "I-Thou" relation; Sartre, "total commitment"; Heidegger, "dread (*Angst*)"; etc.), and each of which is classified under what the editors discover to be the nine "centers around which modern thinking whirls or clings."

The absurdity of the categories is obvious enough. Eliot and Pound, the leaders of the modern anti-romantic movement, "whirl or cling" with the modern romantics; Joyce, who put a modern city more realistically before us than anyone else ever has, turns up in the category of those whose work is not "a description of the world"; Flaubert, who was "considered the leader" of one school of realism, is nonetheless "closer in some ways" to the opposite movement. The categories are clear enough and most manageable; but when we have climbed to the height of their sublime clarity, the most significant modern authors turn out to be schizoid.

And this brings us, as abstraction always does, to the violence done to reality. Essentially, despite the "whirls," the book does what its editors claim it does; it "discloses" a pattern, "a world without fixed and universal attributes—incomplete, emergent, and even contradictory." Whatever "topic of modern consciousness" we look at, this is the view we end with. And emergent man, adopting it, begins—God help him!—to look into his emergent self with "almost religious enterprise." He doesn't find much. The final introduction to the sections on the mind and its myths ends with Dostoievsky's Underground Man, who "cannot achieve the freedom of love or of self-denial or of self-mastery." But he has yet his value. "He *exists*." The italics are the editors', and what they are italicizing is that, along the line we are traveling, sheer and of course painful existence is the value we come down upon. The penultimate section is devoted to existentialism, "a situational survey or map courageously drawn at a moment of supreme crisis." The book ends with Paul Tillich, who informs us that existentialism "is the great art, literature, and philosophy of the 20th century." He would make it, one gathers, the great religion also.

No one could possibly object to the editors entertaining such a view of modern life and literature. As a view of modern life, if only it were presented as a view, it has much to be said for it. To cite one of the secondary sources the editors dislike, Hannah Arendt has argued that, as Western values have collapsed, mod-

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Augustin G. Rudd

Do You Know—
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WHY history, geography and civics were sabotaged for social studies? (pp. 51, 52, 70)
WHY colleges have been forced to provide freshmen with *remedial reading courses in English?* (pp. 279-284)
WHY patriotic texts have been largely eliminated from children's courses? (p. 94)
WHY the Soviet Russia discarded Progressive Education imported from America? (pp. 33-38, 45, 116)
THAT methods of teaching now are regarded as more important than the *knowledge* of a teacher's subject (pp. 232-239, 268-270)
THAT neglect of mathematics, chemistry and physics caused the Dean of an engineering school to say: "We have already lost the battle of engineering man-power," (to Soviet Russia). (pp. 75, 88, 101, 289-292)
THAT the Progressive-New Educationists, obsessed with social aims and remaking society, downgraded intellectual studies and handicapped tens of millions of school children. (pp. 25, 27, 50, 256-257)

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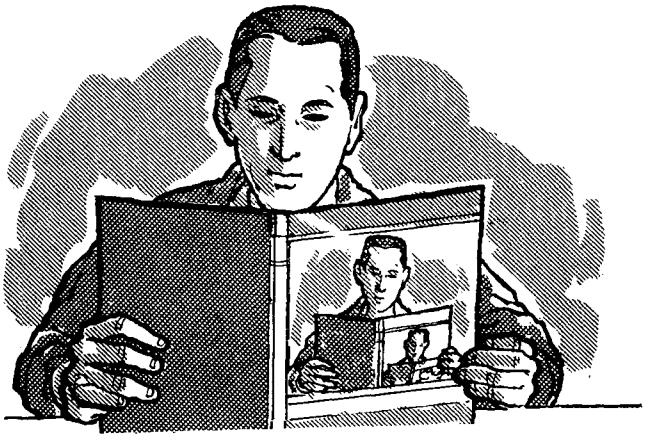
ern man has indeed found himself with nothing to worship but life itself and its sheer ongoing process.

But, true or false, the view is *a* view. It had—one would suppose—to be chosen. And to chose it, the editors had to make—so one would think—an estimate as to significance, one that had to be made either in terms of what they think most lasting in modern literature, or of what now bulks largest in the category that they will call "literature," or of what modern literature shares most with modern philosophy and history, or of what will seem most true to students conditioned by the modern world but not by Western thought, or of what the majority of professors who buy texts will agree with, or of something or other else. But the editors seem ignorant of the fact that they have in any significant way chosen, and free of any responsibility for their choices or for presenting their reasons. I think we must take them seriously. They are, in fact, "bureaucratically objective," which means that they do not live in a world of views at all, but in one of conditioned reflexes where the task is not to understand the drift of things but to organize it.

Ironically enough what is most modern and also most traditional in modern literature has time and again set itself against both the drift and such professorialism. It has even set up the professor as the epiphany of our bureaucratic civilization and the embodiment of its central mode of action, one in which the thinker gives way to the academic abstractionist who seeks to order everything precisely because he understands nothing.

The battle against the pedant is, of course, an ancient one. But in our time—in what Hugh Kenner has called our "classroom civilization"—we are certainly losing it. As Lionel Trilling said recently, if ever the university was "the object of condescension as the place where abstraction consorted most happily with incompetence," it is now looked up to "as suggesting the possibility of a life of reason and order."



Mr. Trilling has praised this book. So have English professors from Princeton, Berkeley, Cornell, Hobart, Fordham, Brown, and the Universities of Indiana and Illinois. Let me close with Mr. Honig of Brown. He finds the book "almost exquisitely organized," replete with "out-of-the-way stuff," and "a wonderful handbook for the educated man." As they say at Yale, *Lux!*

Records

Thelonious Monk and Some Others

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THELONIOUS MONK plays jazz piano. He is also the spiritual leader of a cult which goes in for beards, funny hats and loud silences. His playing is in the great jazz tradition—which is why I like it. The cultism goes back to Dizzy Gillespie, the trumpet man, whose beard made bop a sartorial rather than a musical affectation. Thelonious Monk has his affectations, but as Alain once wrote, *Le style, c'est le style*—a pun which cuts both ways.

I have been listening to Monk's records and reading some of the things he has said about himself and his music. He is a Negro, which in these troubled times forces on him a sense of responsibility he does not enjoy. Like most of the best jazzmen,

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however, he doesn't believe that he must make of his art a sledge hammer to pound away at political themes. "I haven't done one of those 'freedom suites,'" he has said, "and I don't intend to. I mean, I don't see the point. I'm not thinking about the race thing now: it's not on my mind. Everybody is trying to get me to think it, though, but it doesn't bother me. It only bugs the people who're trying to get me to think it."

What Monk "thinks" of mostly is his music. He is the first truly introspective jazz musician since Dave Tough—and the moodiest since Bix Beiderbecke. He listens to the sound of Manhattan as it winds and unwinds its tensions.

He will sit in his flat in New York's West Sixties and stare into space for hours, reaching for the vagrant music which will eventually be parsed by his fingers. ("I don't talk very much because you can't tell everybody what you're thinking," he says. "Sometimes you don't know what you're thinking yourself.")

THAT'S THE kind of talk the cult builds on. When you contemplate the musician you see something else again. And you think back to some of the others who made their living and got their kicks from playing the piano. Willie "The Lion" Smith, with his gold teeth and big cigar, his salesman's joviality, confounded those who listened to the delicate and dancing figures which his right hand scattered over a solid stride of left hand. Joe Sullivan—"the greatest" they used to say when he swung into *Little Rock Getaway* or *Gin Mill Blues*—hunched over the piano, walking the bass and pounding the blues, seemed like a character out of Sean O'Casey. And Jess Stacy, his patent-leather hair casting highlights on a Chopinesque barrel house, would have looked at ease bar rag in hand and white apron around his middle. They were all deceptive, the great men of piano jazz, except for Joe Bushkin and Fats Waller. You could tell about them.

Thelonious Monk fascinates and confuses the jazz academicians because as a soloist, he has removed the swing from his music. Listen to him in *Thelonious Himself* (Riverside RLP 235) and you will know what I mean. No beat, nohow. His technique is all wrong—the fingers straight out and parallel to the keyboard—and this imposes problems of phrasing, of

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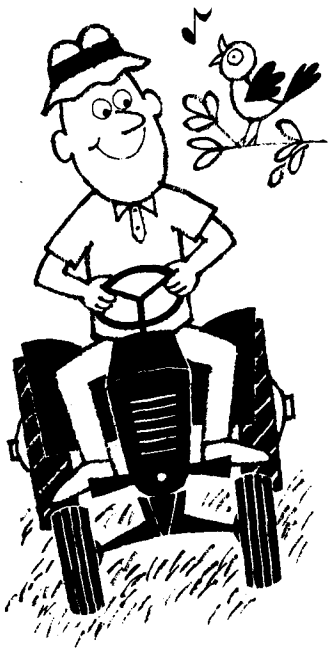

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reaching for the notes. But if he strikes a sour one, he doesn't let it get away. Instead, he follows it down the road of its own logic till he has rescued it and himself—and given his improvisation an unexpected turn. He can generate intellectual excitement by pitting major against minor and arriving at a mode that is strictly his own, a personal lyricism which is neither atonal nor clashing.

Such engaging oldies as *April in Paris, Ghost of a Chance,* or *Getting Sentimental Over You* are given a new substance that is more than improvisational *frou-frou.* His own semi-blues, *Functional,* derives, as he quickly admits, from the Harlem piano of James P. Johnson, but as in most of what Thelonious Monk does, these performances are more thought than felt. Yet in all of his think-tank reveries, he does not play with the sureness of conception that marks the master. The inevitability of each phrase as played by, let's say, a Teddy Wilson, cannot be found. Monk is searching and re-shaping, groping for the entrance and resolution of his ideas. The feeling, as I have elsewhere written, is of late hours when the mood is heavy as a gin fog.

Monk strays too far from the dance which no music should do, no matter what its function. Ezra Pound told us this, but he must have learned it from Mozart and Berlioz. The bill of divorcement which he has decreed alienates him in his solo work from the movement of body and foot which is so integral to jazz. It is one of the disappointments of his playing. Bix Beiderbecke's piano solo, *In a Mist,* is not dance music and leans too much

on Debussy filtered through Milhaud. But in the background there is always the beat which was germinal to the drums of Congo Square in New Orleans.

Even when Thelonious Monk is playing with other musicians—and as the piano man supplying the rhythm—the beat is not really there. There is nothing wrong in what he does. Listen to *Misterioso* (Riverside RLP 279) and superficially you will hear the modes of "modern" jazz—pleasant, hopping, but no more. It gives the other musicians in the quartet featured on the LP the obvious thrust. But they are not carried away, perhaps because Monk's piano style when rocking in rhythm is patently unpianistic. From time to time it reminds me of Rex Stewart's explosively satirical cornet in Ellington's *The Sergeant Was Shy.* Most of it, Monk carries with the right hand, ignoring the interesting bunched-up clusters of notes that mark his unaccompanied style.

For all of this, I like Thelonious Monk. In a time of jazz pretense, he is serious about his music. The cultism helps pay his bills, so why should I complain. But I like to go back to the dance—and to those musicians whose genius feeds on their guts, their hearts, and their minds. There are more of them than you would suspect. Someday, when Thelonious Monk is listening to the sounds of Manhattan, he may hear the cries of their innards.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

PART OF THE TRUTH, by Granville Hicks (Harcourt, $5.95). "I was a good boy" asserts Mr. Hicks at the outset of an autobiography whose seeming purpose is to persuade the reader that its author remained a good boy all the days of his life. He was a good boy as a Communist sympathizer in the early 1930s; he was a good boy as the Party's leading *literatus* in the later 1930s, and —as all good boys should do—he quit the Party at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact. He became a socialist, and then a "critical liberal," which is presumably what good boys grow up to be. One thinks of Whittaker Chambers, who was not a good boy. But to compare Chambers and Hicks is to compare Oedipus and Peer Gynt. The one knew that motives do not count, but that the act does; that the evil of the act was his evil, and, knowing this, knew guilt. The other trivializes the act, insists that his motives were pure, and reassures himself that he is really a fine fellow at heart who, as Hicks puts it, was "betrayed by good intentions into taking an evil position." For such a one, evil is alien and guilt is unknown. He dwells on the secular surface of life where nothing more profound can be discerned than mistakes in judgment and resulting embarrassments. Such a life is sheer surface, is flat,

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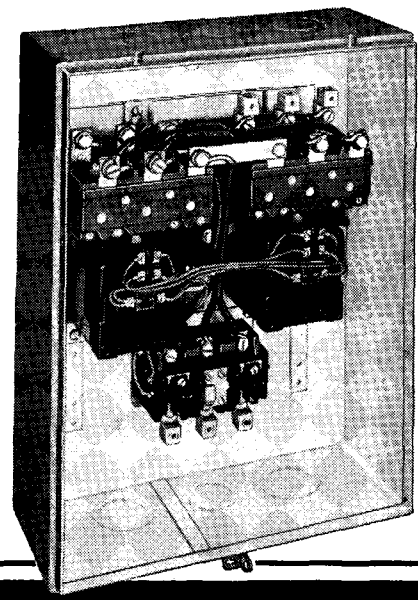
and so is the chronicle of it that Hicks has recorded. Nothing seems too minor for mention; other people's names drop like hailstones; and everything is recited in an invincible, dull monotone that makes even the major events seem trivial. E. H. WALL

THE DECADENCE OF JUDAISM IN OUR TIME, by Moshe Menuhin (Exposition, $6.00). At the age of seventy, Moshe Menuhin, father of the world-renowned violinist Yehudi Menuhin, has set down his credo as American and Jew, and he doesn't mind telling us he is proud of being both. What distresses him, however, is to find so much Jewish energy in this country being deflected into alien channels by an "anachronistic" Zionism which places a narrow nationalism above spiritual Judaism. It is his regret that the Jews of the world did not follow the precepts of "symbolic" Zionism which saw Jerusalem as a city of the mind—as an ideal—but hoped instead for a political Zionism which read the Biblical injunction "Next year in Jerusalem" with literal conviction. Mr. Menuhin does not consider himself, nor the rest of the Jews of the world, as living in *galuth* (exile). For this reason he is most caustic about any Zionist assertion that the Jews have a common homeland or owe any special allegiance to the state of Israel. He is equally critical of Israeli foreign policy especially as it touches on the sensitive Arab refugee problem. In the case of the Arab refugees he seems to feel that any reasonable solution would be instantly grabbed up by both sides. But history and life are just not that simple. Even Count Bernadotte's plan which Mr. Menuhin says was the "only answer to the Arab-Jewish war" was turned down by both. Mr. Menuhin is on more solid ground when he berates the hypocritical and all-powerful establishment of official and officious American Jewry for keeping at permanent fever-pitch their crisis-oriented fund-raising activities for real or imaginary needs. But here, too, he tends to throw the baby out with the bath-water. Because the Zionists sometimes create an artificial hue and cry to "let my people go" is no reason to exonerate the Soviet Union from



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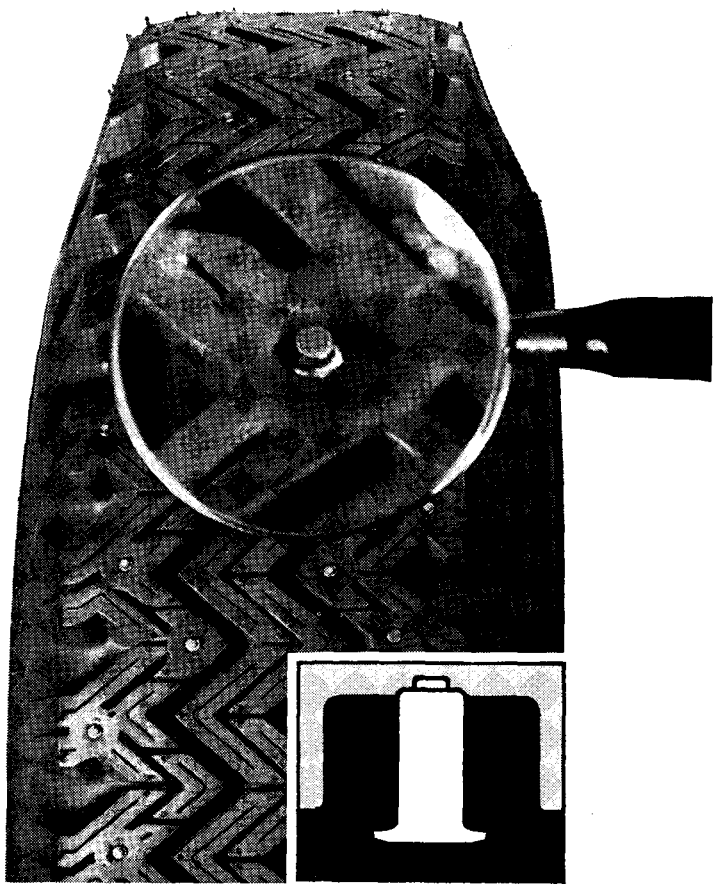

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charges of anti-Semitism just because Khrushchev—of all people! —says it isn't so. Mr. Menuhin reaches many of his optimistic conclusions because of an overweening desire to see the world not as it is, but as he would like it to be. Mr. Menuhin will have his say, and being of a forthright and independent mind he defies anyone to say him nay. M. GELTMAN

CONTRACEPTION, *A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists,* by John T. Noonan Jr. (Harvard, $7.95). Noonan is the legal historian (and director of Notre Dame's Natural Law Institute) who wrote the definitive book on *The Scholastic Treatment of Usury.* On usury there were far more serious papal and conciliar condemnations than on the subject of contraception—yet the basic moral content of the condemnations was finally isolated by an ever-narrowing definition of the historical practices affected by them. His great historical study of Catholic teaching on contraception is different from the earlier book (the Church's stand here has been cloudier; exotic contraceptive devices have appeared and disappeared; moralists have used an evasive language about sexual practices). But it demonstrates that the same thing has happened to the teaching on contraception as on usury (e.g., "adherence to the natural law" meant, for Thomas Aquinas, that only one position could be used in intercourse). Noonan does not argue—it is unnecessary after journeying through the centuries with him — that further development will take place. He merely stresses the positive moral content of the teaching against contraception (the value of life, procreation, married love, the person). Others will sift the historical and technological and philosophical situations in which these moral goods must be defended today—as he has sifted past controversies and practices. A learned, balanced book that must serve as the common basis for discussion by those opposing and those approving change in the Catholic Church's position. The primary historical study, indeed the only one worth mentioning. A classic. G. WILLS

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SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (October 5)

General Thomas A. Lane Statement [to Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress]:

The Constitution is a document for all time because it is an application of sound principle to the organization of government . . . To assert that the times require legislative action by the courts is a lie as well as a corruption of function.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code):

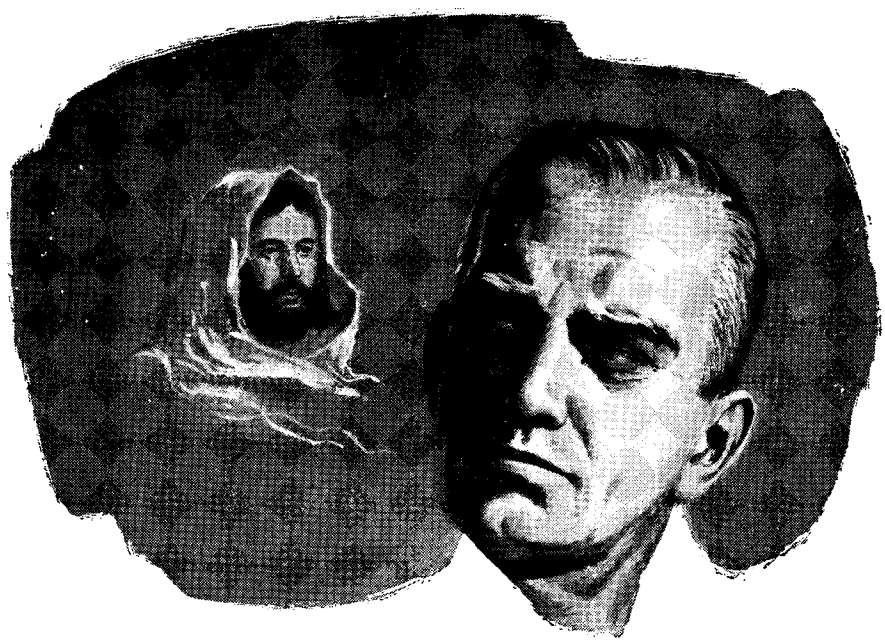
1. Date of filing: October 1, 1965.
2. Title of publication: NATIONAL REVIEW.
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly.
4. Location of known office of publication 163 Pratt Street, Meriden, New Haven County, Connecticut, 06453.
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016.
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher, William A Rusher, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016; Editor, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016 Managing Editor, Priscilla L. Buckley, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given): National Review, Inc., 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016; William F. Buckley Jr., 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none.
9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation.
10.

	Average no. Copies each Issue During preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date (10/5/65)
a) Total No. Copies Printed:	117,646	121,000
b) Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales:	9,078	9,480
2. Mail subscriptions:	77,195	80,138
c) Total paid circulation:	86,273	89,618
d) Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means	1,224	1,117
e) Total distribution (Sum of c and d):	87,497	90,735
f) Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	30,149	30,265
g) Total (Sum of e & f—should equal net press run shown in A):	117,646	121,000

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Signed) William A. Rusher
Publisher

Something Tells Me!



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NOW AVAILABLE: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s address to the N.Y.C. Police. The wide—but distorted—press coverage it received caused an uproar. Wouldn't your friends be interested in what Buckley really said? Get the complete story: Order reprints of the speech at 25¢ ea., 5 for $1, 100 for $10. Write to: Dept. R., National Review, 150 E. 35 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.

DON'T FORGET our 10th Anniversary Dinner, Thursday, November 11, 1965 in New York City. For ticket information write: Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, Chairman National Review 10th Anniversary Dinner Comm., 550 Fifth Avenue, NY 10036.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. A transposition	5 176 39 80 155 62 146
B. A pharos	32 3 112 50 74 88 125 100 170 64
C. Unscramble PURE HATES	36 169 21 113 101 51 42 81 40
D. A percussion instrument	20 69 33 145 171 137 58 159 89
E. Furniture purchased early in married life (2 wds.)	38 13 104 148 173 161 34 1 82
F. Amount of valuation for tax purposes	41 70 127 22 139 166 90 123 103 6
G. Type of rule which is often tyrannical	71 78 99 138 7 111 43 150
H. Constant irritating desire or longing (often for office)	75 52 14 54
I. Fine, sheer, plain-woven linen or cotton fabrics	163 116 83 76 94
J. What babies do before they smile properly	2 44 91 53 15 107
K. Frequently	29 96 16 128 152
L. Poseidon	79 149 56 105 8 98 151
M. Scene of battle, Nov. 21-24, 1943.	87 92 23 157 143 165

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
N. Lifting apparatus	106 175 102 45 167
O. Resembling a mythological being.	118 66 30 24 86
P. Scurrilously abusive woman	135 108 129 10 67 172 142 25
Q. Members of Jewish brotherhood.	140 130 168 57 26 154 4
R. He exercises supreme authority in a state—or office	48 131 27 114 68 136 134 117
S. Persian name of Hadassah.	55 126 46 17 28 109
T. Unscramble TO RENT	63 72 147 153 18 93
U. Unscramble PETIT APE	65 59 124 19 156 119 160 47
V. Tributary of the Delaware	60 162 84 174 35 144
W. District at northern end of Manhattan.	97 120 11 95 132 77
X. Essential to good appearance but eschewed by beatniks (2 wds.)	115 12 141 61 37 122 158 133 85
Y. Shreds	121 31 49 9 164 110 73

See page 945 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

■	■	■	1 E	2 J	■	3 B	4 Q	■	5 A	■	6 F	7 G	8 L	9 Y	10 P	■
11 W	12 X	13 E	14 H	15 J	■	16 K	17 S	18 T	■	19 U	20 D	21 C	22 F	23 M	24 O	25 P
26 Q	27 R	28 S	■	29 K	30 O	■	31 Y	32 B	33 D	■	34 E	35 V	36 C	37 X	■	38 E
39 A	40 C	■	41 F	42 C	43 G	44 J	45 N	46 S	47 U	48 R	■	49 Y	50 B	51 C	52 H	■
53 J	54 H	55 S	■	56 L	57 Q	58 D	59 U	60 V	61 X	■	62 A	63 T	64 B	■	65 U	66 O
67 P	68 R	69 D	70 F	■	71 G	72 T	73 Y	74 B	■	75 H	76 I	■	77 W	78 G	79 L	80 A
81 C	82 E	■	83 I	84 V	85 X	86 O	■	87 M	88 B	89 D	■	90 F	91 J	92 M	93 T	94 I
■	95 W	96 K	■	97 W	98 L	99 G	100B	101C	102N	103F	104E	■	105L	106N	107J	108P
109S	■	110Y	111G	112B	113C	114R	115X	■	116I	117R	118O	■	119U	120W	■	121Y
122X	123F	■	124U	125B	126S	127F	128K	129P	130Q	131R	132W	133X	■	134R	135P	■
136R	137D	138G	139F	140Q	■	141X	142P	■	143M	144V	145D	146A	■	147T	148E	149L
150G	■	151L	152K	153T	154Q	155A	156U	157M	158X	159D	■	160U	161E	162V	■	163I
164Y	165M	166F	167N	■	168Q	169C	170B	171D	172P	173E	174V	175N	176A	■	■	■

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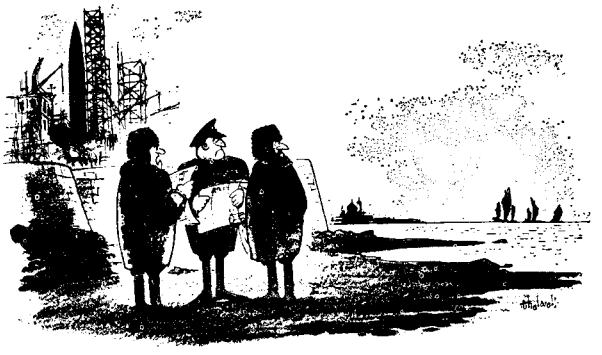
For The Record

Peaceniks planning get-out-of-Vietnam extravaganzas week-end of October 16-17. Worker reports marches, pickets, seminars, teach-ins will be held in New York, Washington, Boston, New Haven, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Madison, Wis., Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, St. Paul, Portland, Atlanta and (natch!) Berkeley . . . A co-organizer of Berkeley demonstration is Robert Scheer, former member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, author of new booklet for (tax deductible) Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Fund for the Republic) which says U.S. should have pulled out of Vietnam ten years ago, and that maybe Ho Chi Minh is what the South Vietnamese would be happiest with . . . Hastily mobilized Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam, headed by Young Democrats, Young Republicans, YAFers and independents, will hold a counter-demonstration ("A Symposium for Freedom in Vietnam") in Washington over same week-end. Over 1,500 students expected to attend.

National Union of Protestants (England's version of Protestants and Others United for Separation of Church and State) already sending around national petition against any visit by Pope Paul to Britain. . . . The Pope's address to the UN is being rebroadcast to the Soviet Union by Radio Liberty. . . . Soviet press, radio coverage of the speech was minuscule, Peking's zero. . . . French Left has finally found itself a presidential candidate in François Mitterand, Min. of Interior in Mendès-France's 1954 cabinet at time when France's biggest post-WW II spy scandal ("L'affaire des fuites") exploded. In new united front, both the Socialist and the Communist parties will back Mitterand, as will other smaller left-of-center parties.

Sen. Dirksen's filibuster against repeal of 14(b) having wholesale political fallout in Texas where fortunes of Sen. John Tower (a member of the filibuster team) were at low ebb last fall. Right to work is big issue in Texas; Tower's support of it has given him spurt in popularity polls. . . . Right to work also big issue in Alabama, so much so that Sen. Lister Hill (a dependable labor yes-man) said—at least initially—that he would not vote for cloture, i.e., to break the filibuster. . . . More actors in politics: Garry Merrill says he'd like to run for Congress in Maine (as Democrat). Steve Allen last week conferred with Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy on ways and means of going after James Roosevelt's California House seat (Roosevelt is off to the UN). . . . In other California races, it is just about certain that Ronald Reagan, Robert Finch (a Nixon man) will win Republican gubernatorial and lt.-gubernatorial primaries, respectively.



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"Those damn Chinese trawlers are watching again."

Rumors persist in France that Chou En-lai will visit Paris next year; invitation could have been extended by Culture Minister André Malraux in his recent mysterious trip to Red China. . . . Tokenism: Latest Senate Internal Security Subcommittee study on discrimination in Soviet Union shows that while in 1939 41.1 per cent of the delegates to the Supreme Soviet were Jewish, the figure had dropped to 0.25 per cent by 1958.

Prices of courses are listed by New York's radical left Free University; $24 for first course; $8 for any subsequent course. No charge for anyone who can prove he's on welfare.

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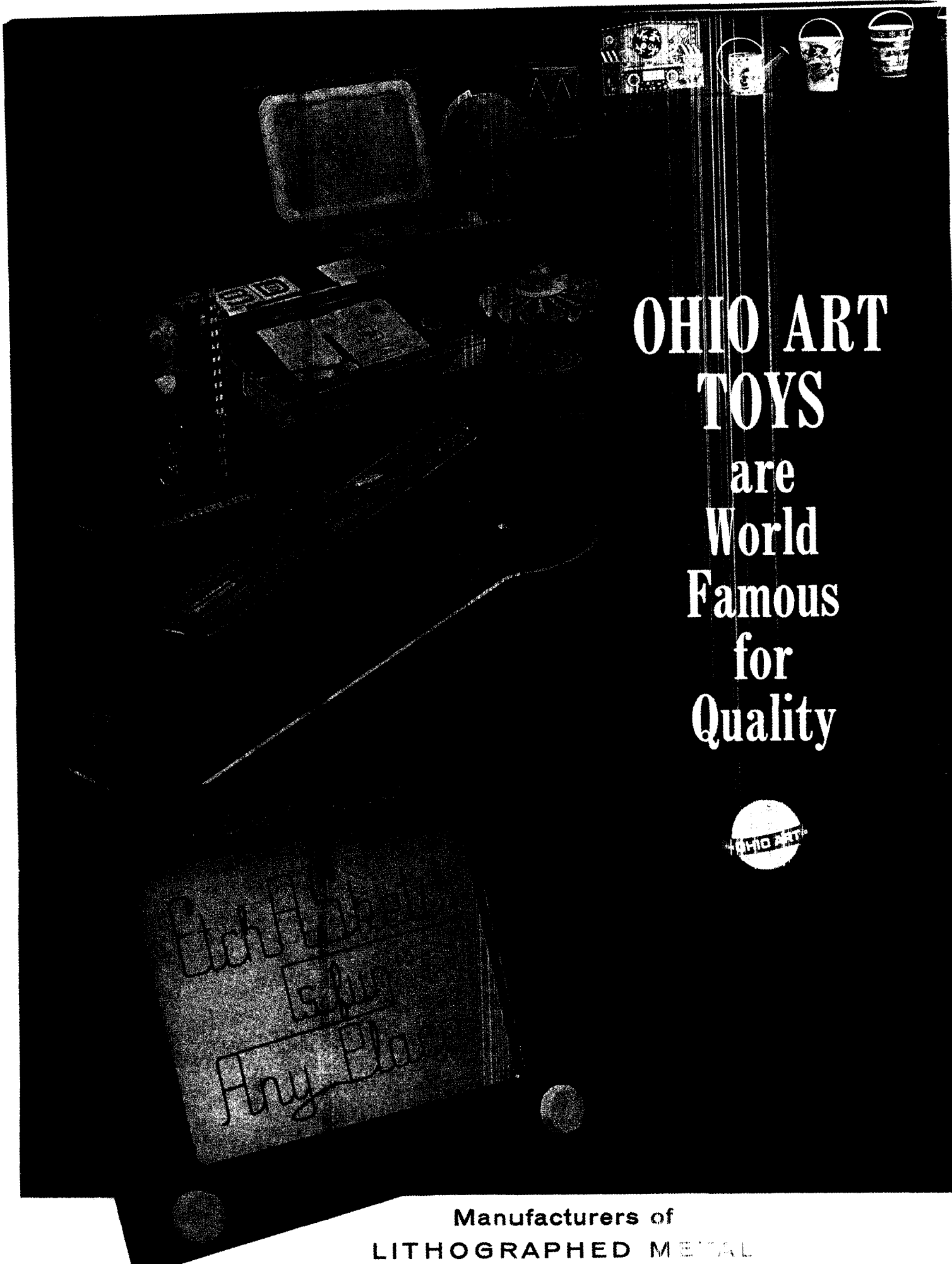

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